

SOME STUDIES
IN THE DIALECT OF MIDLOTHIAN

by
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VOLUME I

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Preface

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This thesis could never have been carried out without the generous support of the Linguistic Survey of Scotland. It sponsored my first fieldwork in 1960 in the Borders and Aberdeenshire, when I was a comparatively inexperienced newcomer. This made me decide to do further research in Scottish dialect. After my return to Germany in 1960 Prof. H. Pilch, Frankfurt, (now Freiburg), asked me to write a doctoral dissertation with the working title "Die Aussprache des Englischen in Edinburgh". I returned to Scotland in 1961 to do the Diploma in Phonetics Course at Edinburgh University and worked at the same time as a part-time assistant in the Linguistic Survey on Educated English in the Edinburgh area. In the course of the next two years I became convinced that a study of the dialect of the area would be necessary for the interpretation of my material and therefore started to learn about the nearly extinct dialect of Edinburgh. I then became more and more involved in editing the lexical collections of the LSS which I joined full-time in 1964. I therefore had to shelve my plans for my German thesis for a period. In 1966 it was decided in agreement with Prof. H. Pilch and the kind support of Prof. D. Abercrombie and Prof. A. McIntosh for me to suspend my German plans and to write a thesis for the degree of Ph.D. at the University of Edinburgh on "Some

Studies in the Dialect of Midlothian", i.e. only on limited aspects of the original scope set by the German title, but extending the area. This was done for practical purposes, but also in view of possible use of the material as basis for a future LSS questionnaire.

I should now like to thank individual persons who have in one way or another helped me in my research:

Prof. Pilch, who introduced me to modern linguistics at a time when very few people indeed in Germany had even heard the names of Bloch, Pike, Hockett, and Chomsky. He first suggested to me the possibility of working on speech varieties of English and has kept an interest in my research over a long time and distance. - Prof. Abercrombie, who introduced me to the elements and, later, the wider ramifications of phonetics and who showed me a more pragmatic approach to linguistics. He has given me generous time for discussing problems and suggesting improvements and has encouraged me in every possible way in my research. - My colleagues Mr. J.Y. Mather and Mr. (now Professor) T. Hill, for giving me guidance in the theoretical and practical work of the Survey. The former has been kind enough to read drafts of this thesis and has saved me from a number of factual and stylistic mistakes, but I am responsible for every fault that remains. - Mr. D. Murison (Scottish National Dictionary) and Mr. A.J. Aitken (Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue) for general advice on Scottish linguistic matters. D. Murison

especially for letting me consult his dictionary questionnaires, which were extremely useful in composing my Glossary, and for advising me on this part of my thesis.

Having lived in the Edinburgh linguistic climate of opinion for many years I am sure to have learned and profited in a general way from my colleagues in the Phonetics Department and the Department of English language and apologise if I do not make individual acknowledgements.

I should like, last but not least, to thank Mrs. J. Leighton and Miss E. Mather for helping me in the technical composition and checking of the rather complicated lists, Mr. G. Leslie for drawing the tables and maps, and my wife for the typing of the final manuscript.

In conclusion some advice for the user of this thesis:

The bulk of my material (ca. 9 - 10 000 slips with some 17 000 entries) has made it necessary to employ a number of abbreviations and conventions which I have explained in the various Introductory Remarks to which frequent reference should therefore be made.

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Summary =====

This thesis was carried out within the framework and with the support of the Linguistic Survey of Scotland with the intention of providing material for a future phonological questionnaire with the emphasis on distributional phonological differences between Standard Scottish English [SSE] and Midlothian dialect [M1].

Volume I

Chapter I discusses some basic notions in dialectology and the scope of the thesis. There is comment on a number of abstractions like dialect - accent - standard, vernacular - dialect continuum, bilingualism, primary and secondary (dialect) features, potential and "living" dialect, representativeness, etc. The thesis concentrates on potential primary dialect features in the phonology of the common core lexis of SSE and M1. It is argued that this kind of "linguistic archaeology" is admissible in view of the threatening disappearance of dialect in the area.

Chapter II sets out regular phonemic correspondences between RP, SSE, and M1 and shows the degree of congruence in the systems and systemic and structural differences of these speech varieties.

Then follows an account of the various phonemes of SSE and M1

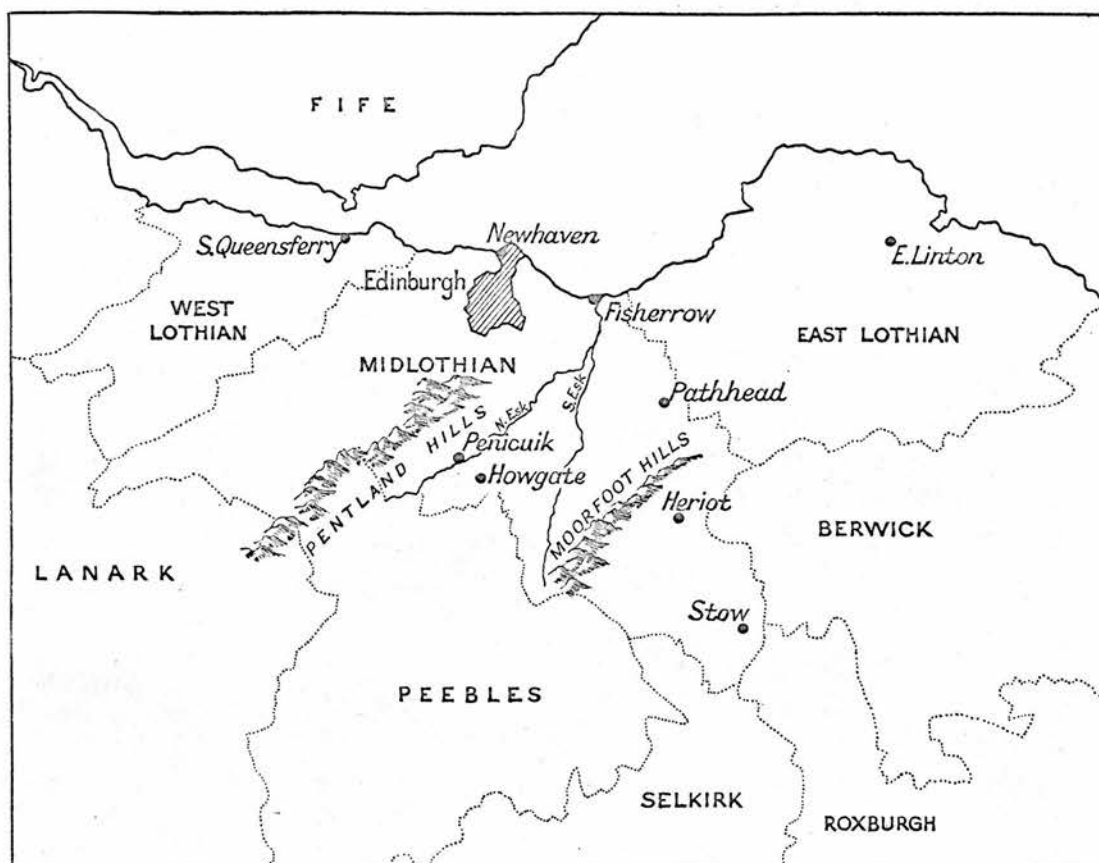
giving their distinctive features and main variants and stating the reason why certain secondary distributional features have been neglected.

Chapter III embodies the main body of research dealing with distributional differences between SSE and M1. The emphasis is on the stressed vowels and diphthongs for which comparative tables are provided. From these emerges that in spite of phonemic identity of three M1 vernaculars (Edinburgh, Musselburgh, and Stow) these differ considerably in their distribution of vowels. They also show the low rate of retention of dialect in an Edinburgh speaker of the younger generation. There are also tables and graphs based on tentative counts to illustrate the situation. - The sections on non-tonic vowels and consonants are less exhaustive than the preceding one.

Chapter IV comments shortly on some aspects neglected in "linguistic archaeology" and suggests topics for further research.

Volume II

contains the Index of Common Core Lexis providing transcriptions where necessary and a Glossary of Midlothian Words and Phrases.



Midlothian in relation to its adjacent counties showing places mentioned in the text and from which linguistic information is available.

Chapter I

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I n t r o d u c t i o n

The title of my thesis indicates that some restrictions in the extent of my research were made from the outset. In this introduction I want to discuss the terms of these delimitations further to avoid raising false expectations as to the amount of material presented. As I proceed, I shall try to give a minimum of theoretical background which I consider necessary for a full understanding of the problems I have encountered in my work. This means that I shall not attempt to examine or restate linguistic theory as a discipline. For this I can refer the reader to the work of my colleague K.J. Kohler¹⁾ who has given a clear statement of the various philosophical points of view that have shaped the climate of opinion of a great number of linguists in the last century, and whose conclusions I would on the whole accept as representing a wide section of common opinion amongst linguists in this country.

1) K.J. Kohler, Aspects of the History of English Pronunciation in Scotland. Ph.D. Thesis, Edinburgh 1964, pp. 1 - 95: Towards a Unified Theory of Linguistics. I have in general avoided repeating K.'s arguments.

Nor is it my intention to present an introduction to dialectology, although this would indeed be a highly desirable undertaking in view of the absence of a detailed and well-reasoned account of this field in the English-speaking world.¹⁾ This would, however, be far beyond the scope of this thesis.

a) Dialect - Standard - Accent

It will be useful to examine a number of terms and concepts which will be rather familiar to most linguists, but about which, at the same time there is often a good deal of confusion²⁾. I should like to stress again that my discussion of technical language is restricted to the immediate problems and framework of this study. Many but not all concepts might be applicable to other languages.

The first set of terms to be introduced is dialect, accent, and standard. Within the English language dialect and standard denote two idealized poles or extreme forms of language variety. In his article "English Accents" D. Abercrombie³⁾ has summed up the position as follows:

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- 1) I have been collecting material for this purpose over a number of years.
 - 2) Witness the lengthy and rather confused discussion about dialect and accent at a meeting of the Celtic Congress in Edinburgh 1967.
 - 3) Originally published in English Language Teaching and reprinted in ch. 4 in Problems and Principles in Language Study, 2nd ed., London 1963, pp. 41 - 56.

Dialect

"There are many dialects of English, and although they are alike, basically for them all to be looked on as different forms of the same language, the divergences between them are considerable. They differ from each other in all possible respects - in morphology, in syntax, in vocabulary, in sound system, in accent. Every dialect is a local dialect ..." (p. 43)

Standard

"Not only is it different from the dialects linguistically, that is to say in the same ways that they are different from each other, but - and this is the important point - it differs from them socially and politically also. (p. 44) - Unlike the dialects, it is not tied to any particular region or country, but is a universal form of English: it is the kind used everywhere by educated people. ... no acknowledged standard of pronunciation goes with its use." (p. 46)

[Allowances have to be made for variations other than phonetic or phonological in, say, the United States, Scotland, India etc. Cf. p. 45]

Accent

"In [the] technical sense the word [accent] is quite neutral, and means simply "manner of pronouncing".

"Each region" [where Standard English is used] "has its own particular accent." (p. 47)

This is clearly a bi-polar model to account for language variety which has fashioned the linguistic theory of people in the Linguistic Survey of Scotland [LSS] from the beginning of its work. It does not allow for speech varieties which would be stable at all levels between dialect and standard. Such stable

intermediary forms can be found in other languages¹⁾, but within Britain it seems possible to deal with them by use of the concept accent, i.e. at the phonetic and phonological level, only²⁾.

In my particular area, then, I am concerned with the regional accent of Standard English, which I wish to call Scottish Standard English [SSE]³⁾, on the one side and with the Midlothian dialect [M1] on the other side. M1 differs from Standard English at all possible linguistic levels, but ^tis has enough in common with it for the comparative linguist to consider them to be genetically related (see below), i.e. M1 is considered to be part of the English language.

My study falls within the discipline of dialectology, if we define it as that part of linguistics which deals with the comparison of speech varieties less than a language⁴⁾.

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- 1) E.g. in German: regionale Umgangssprachen, Halbmundart. Cf. Bach §§ 2, pp. 189 ff. and R.E. Keller, Some Problems of German Umgangssprache, TPS 1966, pp. 88 ff. I am also indebted to H. Pilch, Das Lautsystem der hochdeutschen Umgangssprache, ZMF 1966 (23), pp. 247 ff.
 - 2) A possible exception is lexis, where there seem to be stable regional differences, but this field has not been investigated at all in Britain. Cf. for German: P. Kretschmer, Wortgeographie der deutschen Umgangssprache, Göttingen 1918.
 - 3) This is a short form for Standard English with a Scottish accent. It is also called Educated Scots.
 - 4) Cf. J. Ellis, Towards a General Comparative Linguistics, The Hague 1966, p. 30. T. Hill, Institutional Linguistics, Orbis 1958 (7), pp. 441 ff. deals with the more general aspects of the problem touched on in this chapter.

b) Vernacular and Dialect Continuum

Part of the definition of dialect is that it is local. So are, in a certain sense, accents of Standard English. Within the British Isles we can talk about e.g. Southern, Northern, Scottish, Irish etc. (accents of) English. We speak also about English, Irish, Scottish etc. dialects (of English). In Scotland itself there are works on, say, the Border, Buchan, Caithness etc. dialects. This particular study is about the Midlothian dialect. As regards the latter, I will specially deal with the dialects of three places, Edinburgh, Musselburgh and Stow. Local, then, refers to various spatial extensions of speech varieties which are grouped together as same or different depending on the depth of linguistic analysis, which involves extensive comparison. - There is a further implication in the term local: the linguistic characteristics of the dialect of a speaker are a permanent feature of his speech and are to a great extent determined by the speech of the area he grew up in.

It might be useful to make a terminological distinction between the speech of a community like a village or town which can be considered to take up a point in space and in which there are no variations depending on geographical position and, at a higher scale of abstraction, the speech of a larger area. Hill¹⁾ has suggested the terms vernacular and dialect continuum, one could also speak about local and regional dialect or accent. In

1) Hill op.cit. p. 443.

France the more comprehensive term is rendered by dialecte, the other by patois¹⁾; in German dialectology landschaftliche Mundart and Ortsmundart²⁾ are used. What constitutes a local or regional dialect is a matter of definition: it involves a more or less arbitrary decision by the linguist, it is not a mere matter of discovery.

My reason for choosing Midlothian dialect was a mainly practical one in that it limited geographically the area of investigation. It is doubtful whether a strong case could be made for the county to constitute a linguistically definable and delimitable entity as against neighbouring counties. The fieldwork so far carried out by the LSS outside Midlothian and earlier dialect research would suggest that it forms part of a dialect continuum of much wider spatial extension. My case will be that the three selected vernaculars form a continuum within

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- 1) A. Martinet, *Eléments de linguistique générale*, Paris 1960, pp. 154 - 156. Note the following curious statement: "le terme de patois n'a guère d'équivalents hors du français, et ceci suggère que la situation linguistique que l'on constate en France n'a pas d'équivalent exact ailleurs".
- 2) Cf. Bach, *op.cit.* and W. Putschke, *Ostmitteldeutsche Dialektologie* in L.E. Schmitt ed., *Germanische Dialektologie*, Festschrift Mitzka, Wiesbaden 1968, p. 130.

Putschke gives the following table:

<u>Definitionsmerkmale</u>	<u>/</u>	<u>Gruppentypen</u>
[a]		Dialektraum
[a] + [b]		Dialektverband
[a] + [b] + [c]		Dialektgruppe
[a], [b], ... : number of definitional characteristics.		

He also suggests further differentiation into Dialektfläche and Dialektpunkt (my vernacular).

the boundaries of the county¹⁾.

c) Bilingualism

Most English dialect speakers are able to use an accent of Standard English, if intercommunication makes it necessary. This statement cannot be reversed. In Britain dialect speakers form a steadily decreasing minority. Many of them will not use their dialect except on rare and special occasions, it exists for them only as a potential (see p. 15).

If we modify Weinreich's definition

"The practice of alternately using two languages will be called Bilingualism, and the person involved, bilingual"²⁾

to include permanent³⁾ language varieties in addition to "languages" (like English or French), then most dialect speakers in Britain are bilingual.

Looking at the language situation in Midlothian (and most other parts of Lowland Scotland) an observer will get the impression that most speakers speak some kind of English which

1) Cf. chapters II and III.

2) U. Weinreich, Languages in Contact, New York 1953, p. 1. - The first analysis of a Scots dialect to appear in print which takes bilingualism and its consequences for the dialect into account is W. Wölck, Phonematische Analyse der Sprache von Buchan, Heidelberg 1965.

3) permanent as against transient (cf. below p. 297).

is close at all levels, but especially at the grammatical level, to the Standard English pole and that the dialect is most frequently and consistently heard with children under 10 years and old people. In the following paragraph I am giving a hypothesis for this situation which is based on experiences in the field and discussions with my colleagues¹⁾.

Dialect is most frequently spoken in a domestic context. A child may learn it from its parents or grandparents depending on their social attitudes. It will acquire more non-Standard forms in the playground. Dialect-restraining pressures start at any stage before, but most usually with the start of, primary school. Speech habits, i.e. permanent speech characteristics, are in general determined by the age of 10, just before the start of secondary school. After that age people will a) use both dialect and Standard or, much more commonly, b) abandon dialect for SSE. The interesting and important fact is that some of the last-mentioned group will revert to the dialect after retiring from work. Both a) and b) can be called "resistant" and it is due to them that the dialect is passed on to other generations and survives to this very day in most parts of Lowland Scotland²⁾.

1) I owe a great deal to discussions with my colleagues J.Y. Mather and J. Aitken.

Preservation of dialect, as I said before, largely depends on social attitudes. These seem to have been different in Scotland from wide parts of England, where dialect in our sense of the word is extinct. Bilingualism in which one speech form carries a higher social prestige tends to be unstable: the weaker form will become more and more attenuated by adjustment to the stronger form. A "mixed language" may develop as a result of this, which may show enough differences at all levels of analysis to be called a dialect, but the number of differences will become fewer. - The level most affected in this way in Midlothian is grammar (syntax and morphology), whereas lexis and phonology have so far held their position, but are in danger of extinction.

The findings and comments of the 18th century dialectologist Marshall may be of interest here. In his book "The Rural Economy of Yorkshire"¹⁾ he remarks on the language situation in Yorkshire 200 years ago. After stressing that most of the differences between the dialect and Standard English refer to "pronunciation" (i.e. the phonetic and phonemic level) he goes on to say:

"There are, in many cases, two distinct provincial languages in this district: one of them spoken by the lower class, - more especially of old people; the other by the superior class of provincialists. The first I shall call the vulgar tongue (though in all probability the purer language); the other the middle dialect. Thus

1) London 1788.

the English word malt is in the vulgar tongue maut; in the middle dialect, molt: Malton, in the like manner, becomes Mauton and Molton. All syllables formed with o long have three distinct pronunciations: thus booa in the vulgar tongue, ball in the middle dialect, and bole in the English language, convey the same idea. Creeac, crake, crow; father (the a short), faither, father, are other instances. In a few generations, it is probable, the present vulgar tongue will be lost, and the present middle dialect will then of course become the vulgar tongue."¹⁾

In spite of his prophecies the forms of the vulgar tongue have survived which must be due to "resistant" types.

d) Primary and Secondary (Dialect) Features

At this point it may be apposite to introduce two new terms into English dialectology which have been used in similar circumstances in Germany²⁾. Primary (dialect) features are those of which the informant is aware in a bilingual situation and which he can control and replace at will. In my particular case they concern the adjustments which my informants make to change from dialect into SSE. Secondary (dialect) features are derived from the dialect, but the speaker carries them over into his Standard speech forms. We can therefore say that the regional accent is to a certain extent determined by the dialect, but

1) Marshall, op.cit., fn. on pp. 311 - 312.

2) See Appendix IV.

it may not be possible to explain all regional differentiations this way. Secondary features are often suprasegmental characteristics or phonetic/substantial features.

A Scotsman may speak with an accent near to RP, i.e. have all the phonological distinctions and most of the phonetic features correct, but there may be the occasional syllable-final "-r"¹⁾ or a lexical item may show a non-RP distributional difference, he might say /'gæ^ɹər/ for /'gæ.ər/, or /'sæmən/ for /'læmən /²⁾. If this is pointed out to him he may fail to hear a difference or deny that he said a certain thing.

In my personal experience a similar "blind spot" is the distinction between voiced and voiceless stops in intervocalic positions in my pronunciation of German. In the regional Standard of High German which I spoke in my childhood (Thuringia), people often did not distinguish between voiced and voiceless stops in any position in the syllable. When, at the age of 10, I moved to Northern Germany (where the distinction is made in syllable-initial and intervocalic positions), I was able to introduce the contrast syllable-initially, but had difficulties with the intervocalic position (in syllable-final position the distinction is neutralized in most types of Standard-German). My name which is pronounced ['ʃpæ^htʰəl] in

1) Cf. p. 40.

2) The distribution of /a/ and /a/ in SSE is, if the contrast exists at all, quite different from RP. This may be partly due to the fact that most dialects do not have the distinction.

the North, came out as [ʃpæ^təɫ] in my attempts to replace /d/ by /t/, /ʃpæ^dəɫ/ being the Thuringian pronunciation (the name was originally spelt "Speidel"). The Northerners interpreted my unaspirated [t] as /d/ so that I had to spell my name each time I used it to strangers. Up to the present day I use intervocalic /d/ for /t/ accidentally and without being conscious of it. My father has the same trouble and cannot distinguish between "Kleider" (clothes) /'klæɪdər/ and "Gleiter" (castors) /'glæɪtər/. Both come out as ['klæɪdər], he cannot even hear the difference if it is pointed out to him. On the other hand he has completely cast off the dialect of his childhood, which is unintelligible to me.

In my attempt to compare the stressed vowel and consonantal systems of Midlothian dialect and SSE and to show up distributional differences between the two, I have concentrated on primary dialect features exclusively.

e) Potential and Living Dialect

A great deal of thought has been spent in linguistic discussions about how to get at what is called the "living dialect", i.e. the dialect which the informants use naturally and consistently. (The ideal informant of this school of dialectology is a monolingual dialect speaker who should also, preferably, be unsophisticated and illiterate.) This is done by recording the

informant alone or together with a comparable dialect informant in a so-called situational interview¹⁾.

In practice the fieldworker will often want to communicate with his opposite number himself by speaking dialect, making use of a bilingual situation, or by employing a bilingual intermediary. In a case like English the fieldworker will often use Standard English for questioning. This may take place in such a way that the fieldworker avoids using the part of the utterance he wants to elicit by providing contexts through definitions or sentence frames in which the item concerned is missed out²⁾. Behind this lies the conviction that uniformity in questioning provides a uniformity in the collected dialect material, the method of eliciting material becomes all-important.

Another way is taken by the LSS which has always acknowledged bilingualism as a feature of the present-day language situation in Scotland. It also accepts informants as intelligent beings who can be "let into the secret" of the fieldworker to a certain extent. While not wholly rejecting the methods mentioned above,

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- 1) G. Hard, *Zur Mundartgeographie*, Düsseldorf 1966, ch. 4 "Rollensprachen", pp. 34 ff. There is also a rather full discussion - from a German point of view - of the objections made to the study of the "old" or "genuine" dialect.
 - 2) Cf. H. Orton, *An English Dialect Survey*, Orbis 1960 (9). This method was first fully developed in K. Jaberg and J. Jud, *Sprach- und Sachatlas Italiens und der Südschweiz*, Zofingen 1928 ff.
Cf. also K. Jaberg and J. Jud, *Der Sprachatlas als Forschungsinstrument*, Halle 1928.

the collecting of the material is left to the ingenuity and discretion of the fieldworker. In phonetic / phonological work this will often take the course of feeding an ("English") word to the informant by using an accent of Standard English and of asking for its dialect pronunciation. There is, of course, a continual checking up against the informant's own connected speech and other speakers of the vernacular¹⁾. If the fieldworker feels that the use of Standard English affects his fieldwork adversely, he will employ a different strategy in questioning or might change the informant.

When I first started my work I was a strong adherent of the analysis of tape-recorded material, but I soon had to learn from my experiences with Edinburgh speakers who mixed SSE and dialect continually. Looking for dialect I heard a few lexical and grammatical deviant forms and, at the phonological level, there were some distributional differences²⁾, but the informant seemed to use, for no apparent reason, a dialect form and a SSE form of the same word often in the same sentence. If, on the other hand, I used the LSS method, which could be called item-translation or item-conversion, I was able to establish a greater number of non-Standard forms in a much shorter time³⁾. Many of the forms

1) Cf. H.H. Speitel - J.Y. Mather, Schottische Dialektologie in L.E. Schmitt ed., Germanische Dialektologie, Festschrift Mitzka, Wiesbaden 1968, p. 532.

2) For distributional differences and the meaning of dialect at the phonological level cf. ch.II.

3) Cf. H.H. Speitel - J.Y. Mather, op.cit., p. 531 fn. 63. This is a rather formal situation, but we would argue that reflexion is part of the linguistic situation in Scotland.

collected in this fashion occurred so seldom in coherent speech that I would probably have missed many of them otherwise. It seems to me that in an area like Edinburgh which does not encourage dialect, former speakers of the vernacular have a potential dialect at their disposal which they rarely manifest fully in their speech at any one time and in any one situation¹⁾. One of the tasks of the dialectologist in such circumstances is to "dig up" the past, to establish how much potential deviation from the Standard there can be. In short, he must work as a linguistic archaeologist.

Recently there has been a good deal of criticism of this kind of dialectology. E. Haugen has called it the "one-foot-in-the-grave" approach. In Germany there has also been a reaction against those that want to preserve the dialect in its oldest form as a record of old times gone by²⁾. Both statements,

1) A. Bach, Deutsche Mundartforschung, 2. Heidelberg 1950, § 217, p. 256:

"Wer die verschiedenen sozial und landschaftlich bedingten Berührungen zwischen Mundart und Schriftsprache überblickt, wird darüber nicht im Zweifel sein, dass die beiden sich durchdringenden Sprachtypen keineswegs als "rein" gelten können. "Reine Mundart" im Sinne eines von der Kultursprache her völlig unbeeinflussten Sprachtyps gibt es so wenig, wie "reine Hochsprache" ohne Beziehungen zur Mundart gedacht werden kann.....(s. § 209) "Reine Mundart" und "reine Schriftsprache" sind Gedankendinge und in der Wirklichkeit als völlig in sich ruhende Gebilde so wenig anzutreffen wie die sie vorwiegend tragenden sozialen Schichten."

2) E. Haugen, Isoglosses within a dialect, Vorgesehene Vorträge, Second International Congress of Dialectologists, Sektion II, p. 4:

"A dialect research which aims only to establish the oldest form of a local dialect (the "one-foot-in-the-grave" school)

ctd. next page

however, have to be seen against a background of a continued "living" - if changed - dialect and an abundance of dialect monographs and studies in some countries over the last century. The latter cannot be said for Scotland¹⁾. Nor is it implied in my definition of dialect as maximal deviation from Standard English that it should be spoken by old people or reflect an older historical form of speech. As it turned out, most of my informants were over 60. In my area dialect seems definitely to be on the way out, i.e. the primary features are quickly disappearing. This is especially evident with features at the grammatical level, but also in the vocabulary and phonology. I would therefore wish to make a special claim for giving precedence to the kind of material collected and presented here.

f) Standardisation of Dialect

In a recent monograph on the dialect of Gateshead-upon-Tyne²⁾, it has been argued that, unlike the Standard, dialect does not

Fn. 2) of preceding page ctd.

or which is only interested in drawing up regional isoglosses, falls short of the real potential of its field. Only by studying in detail the subtle differences within communities and their correlation with social groupings can we attain greater clarity concerning the pressures and drifts that lead to linguistic change and the eventual rise or disappearance of the isoglosses."

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- 1) My predecessors in Midlothian worked with rather a limited questionnaire (Ellis, Wright), doubtful methods (Hartig), or do not localise their informants (Wright, Wilson Ce).
 - 2) W. Viereck, *Phonematische Analyse des Dialekts von Gateshead-upon-Tyne* /Co. Durham, Hamburg 1966, p. 49, and my review in *Phonetica* 18 (1968), pp. 119 ff.

recognise a norm or tradition, but grows unimpeded in its development. This may be true for many dialects, but I think the situation is different in most parts of Scotland. We have to acknowledge the fact that many dialect speakers here read the Scottish dialect literature of the 18th and early 19th centuries and are influenced, to some extent at least, by its spellings and vocabulary. This is the case when E gives "loof" for palm of the hand and pronounces it /luf/ or if he uses /luərz/ "loo'ers" (lovers). Many words from Burns or Fergusson survive in present-day dialect because they are regularly studied and read.

There exists a body of knowledge of "general Scots" which is felt to be somewhat different from the speaker's own vernacular and which is used on special occasions only, but it is often difficult to know where to draw the line. The standardising influence of traditional spellings of Scots lexis corresponds to the influence of Standard English orthography of common core words on their dialect pronunciations. I will have occasion further below to comment on some cases of the latter kind.

The above statement, then, reflects the common conception of dialect as the speech of illiterate monolingual peasants or working class people and the vain search for "pure" dialect.

g) Synchronic and Diachronic¹⁾ Aspects
of Dialect Study

So far we have looked at dialect as having extension in space: we assumed that present-day vernaculars can be grouped into higher linguistic abstractions, the "dialect continua", by looking at features they have in common. In other words, there are a number of contemporary vernaculars about which we can make linguistic observations which would not apply to other groups of dialects. Moving from place to place in an area and looking at speech varieties near the dialect pole, our informants will in general maintain that they can understand a person in the next village or in localities within a certain radius, although they often are aware of differences. Mutual intelligibility is a criterion of relatedness which presupposes a high degree of similarity between speech varieties at all levels. A dialect continuum is a synchronic concept stressing continuity in space.

It is possible to look at dialect as also having extension in time. This "diachronic" view stresses continuity in time: the dialect in a certain area bears a resemblance to the dialect of that same district at an earlier period; speech is passed on from generation to generation.

This thesis being mainly a synchronic study, I have tried

1) For the discussion in this section cf. K.J. Kohler, op.cit.

to exclude comparison of this kind (by not referring to e.g. 18th century material), but one can never completely avoid diachronic considerations. "Diachronic" and "synchronic" are, again, abstractions used by the linguist to account for his material which would otherwise be difficult to handle. Like dialect and accent these terms refer to two extreme poles on a "cline".

Synchronic linguistics attempts to take a "snapshot" of a type of speech and then to describe this "état de langue" as a self-contained entity. Two objections can be raised as to the synchronicity of my study.

- 1) My material was collected over a number of years and could therefore not be considered to represent a short "time-span" in which no change took place in the speech of my informants.
- 2) I consider more than one idiolect (see below) in a vernacular each of which may represent a different stage of development. Between the ages of my two informants from E there is a gap of 45 years. Remembering what was said above about the fixing of speech habits at about 10 years of age, one informant might, in part¹⁾, represent the Edinburgh vernacular of the turn of the century, the other may resemble a speech form of the 1930s.

1) A number of differences will be due to different social affiliations of the informants.

In spite of these reservations I would claim to give a synchronic description and comparison of some M1 vernaculars. The results of the comparison have historical and other (e.g. social) implications which can only be satisfactorily interpreted in a larger context and are beyond the scope of this study¹⁾.

h) Idiolects and the Representativeness
of the Chosen Localities

A study of any language variety will start from the speech of one person, an idiolect²⁾, which is taken to be representative of a particular type of speech. It is possible to choose an informant who is thought to represent the greatest number of speakers in a community. In another case he might be selected because he stands for the "average" educated speech. My interest has been in informants who are as far removed as possible

1) This larger survey might use the material as the basis for a questionnaire and use some of the methods of comparison suggested below (cf. p.247).

2) Cf. J.C. Catford, A Linguistic Theory of Translation, London 1965, p. 85.

Idiolect: language variety related to the personal identity of the performer.

C.F. Hockett, A Course in Modern Linguistics, N.Y. 1958, pp. 321 - 2.

"Generally speaking, the totality of speech habits of a single person at a given time constitutes an idiolect... The degree of similarity of the idiolect in a single dialect is presumed to be greater than that of all the idiolects in the language."

I follow Catford.

from Standard English at all levels of analysis. Numerically speaking these are a (steadily decreasing) minority in my area.

Ideally all people's speech belonging to this category should be analysed, and all speech communities in the area under consideration should be taken into account. The extent of one's investigations is limited by the amount of material to be collected, the kind of linguistic information to be elicited, and practical considerations. I have chosen to work with a rather extensive amount of material on a few people with the intention of using the results as the basis for a questionnaire in a more comprehensive fieldwork enterprise within the LSS.

The bulk of this thesis is based on the investigations at three localities in my area and presents mainly the speech of three informants. Each of the three places was selected for a particular reason. I started work in Edinburgh mainly with a view to showing survival of dialect in a cultural centre and its traces in educated speech and with an interest in the problem whether the dialect found was different from that which is spoken in the surrounding area. Stow, where I had worked with the LSS phonological questionnaire for the first time in 1959, I considered a typical mixed farming and woollen industry village. Moreover, it is situated in the extreme south of the county and separated from the fertile coastal belt by the Moorfoot Hills (the village lies nine miles south of the

watershed near Heriot). From a geographical point of view, owing to its proximity to the counties of Berwick and Selkirk, dialectal differences from the rest of the Lothians were not unlikely to be found. Fisherrow is the fishing part and harbour of Musselburgh just outside the boundaries of Edinburgh. Fishing communities tend to be self-contained; until not very long ago, marriages with non-fishing families were not approved of. In the experience of the LSS such localities tend to preserve the dialect as an integral part of life longer and more conservatively than speakers further inland.

This more or less intuitive selection of informants and localities is attacked by social dialectologists whose interest lies in measuring to what degree an idiolect is representative of a socially defined speech group¹⁾. It should be pointed out, however, that this "intuition" is often based on a wide experience of the fieldworker, who might be a native of the area and therefore acquainted with a great variety of speakers or on a more limited contact with speech of the area, but - as in this study - a series of interviews with subsequent comparison and rejection of informants as being not suitable for a specific purpose.

1) The best discussion of problems in social dialectology is found in W.Labov, The Social Stratification of English in New York City, Washington D.C. 1966.

1) Comparison of Synchronic Systems: Diasystems¹⁾

Synchronic linguistics stresses the independence of a system of a language variety as a unit in which "tout se tient" (Meillet). It has been pointed out that the shift towards "static" linguistics discouraged for some time comparison between systems thus disregarding continuity in time and space. This was done in a good cause and provided the necessary corrective to historical philology which had become a rather stagnant and dogmatic subject.

Of course the two approaches can be combined as was first proved by some scholars in the historical field. I am thinking in particular of the work of K. Luick, M.K. Pope, and A. Martinet, who have shown how the concept of system can enlighten our understanding of the causes of linguistic change²⁾.

The situation in synchronic dialectology has been less favourable. As early as 1931 Troubetzkoy provided a basic framework for the comparison of dialects:

"Les différences phoniques existant entre deux dialectes

1) For the discussion in this section cf. especially E. Pulgram, *Structural Comparison, Diasystems, and Dialectology*, *Linguistics* 4 (1964), pp. 66 ff. (Good bibliography)

2) K. Luick, *Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache*, Leipzig 1928 - 1940.

M.K. Pope, *From Latin to Modern French*, Manchester 1934.

A. Martinet, *Economie des changements phonétiques*, Berne 1955.

peuvent être de trois sortes: elles peuvent concerner le système phonologique, ou bien la réalisation phonétique des divers phonèmes, ou encore la répartition étymologique des phonèmes dans les mots. D'après cela nous parlerons de différences dialectales, phonologiques, phonétiques et étymologiques."¹⁾

These new suggestions from the Prague school did not find the world-wide echo they deserved. There were isolated books like Trnka's "Phonological Analysis of Present-Day English",²⁾ or E. Jensen's "Houlbergmaalet"³⁾, in which a Danish dialect is analysed in phonological terms by using polysystems (systems of stressed vowels before the various post-tonic consonants). However, these are descriptions of idiolects and make no attempt at comparison.

A few words may suffice about Trager and Smith's over-all pattern for American English⁴⁾. The authors were more interested in an arsenal of transcription symbols than in structural comparison. This is also shown by the fact that not one American "dialect" (our accent) has all the 36 contrasts provided. No attempt is made to show in what respect two dialects differ except for the use they make of the arsenal. In spite of this

1) Travaux de Cercle Linguistique de Prague IV (1931), pp. 228 - 234.

2) Prague 1935, 2nd ed. Tokyo 1966.

3) Kopenhagen 1944.

4) G.L. Trager and H.L. Smith, An outline of English structure, 1951.

criticism it remains an interesting early attempt in the use of phonemics in the study of language varieties.

Among the first to use Troubetzkoy's concepts were the originators of the Linguistic Atlas of New England. In their Handbook they say:

"Care was taken to provide sufficient material for a rather full description, both phonemic and phonic, of the pronunciation of each informant, and hence for determining the regional and social distribution of the phonic variations of all the phonemes of American English, and for establishing differences in phonemic structure."¹⁾

Unfortunately the results of this Survey were not published until 1961, when its actual methods of comparing systems and structures were disclosed²⁾.

The field questionnaire of the LSS was developed by H.J. Uldall and J.C. Catford in the late 1940s and early 1950s. There is probably a link-up with Jensen (see above) because of Uldall's connection with the Copenhagen school. The phonological questionnaire is, as far as I am aware, the first designed to elicit mainly systemic, structural and distributional information. The stress is definitely on structural relations within

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- 1) H. Kurath et al., Handbook of the Linguistic Geography of New England, Providence 1939, p. 148.
 - 2) H. Kurath and R.I. McDavid, The Pronunciation of English in the Atlantic States, Ann Arbor 1961.

one dialect, although the material can and will be used for historical purposes. No full-scale comparison has been attempted with the collected material¹⁾.

A new stimulus was introduced into the discussion of synchronic dialectology by U. Weinreich's article "Is Structural Dialectology Possible?"²⁾ which takes up explicitly the threads of Troubetzkoy's 1931 essay. According to Weinreich

"a specifically structural dialectology would look for the structural consequences of partial differences within a framework of partial similarity."

Comparison is made possible by accepting partial similarity which makes allowance for the fact that in spite of systemic differences between dialects there can be continuity in space or mutual intelligibility. Comparison is achieved by setting up diasystems which are further abstractions from individual phoneme systems. This can only be done by introducing "gross phonetic features" into the diasystem.

If e.g. two dialects (1,2) have five stressed vowel phonemes the following diasystem might be set up:

1,2 // i ≈ e ≈ a ≈ o ≈ u //³⁾.

1) For suggestions of a systemic comparison cf. J.C. Catford, *Vowel-Systems of Scots Dialects*, TPS 1957, pp. 107 ff., and Speitel - Mather, op.cit., tables.

2) Word 10 (1954), pp. 388 ff.

3) Double obliques // enclose a diasystem. Opposition between diaphonemes is indicated by a double tilde ≈, opposition between phonemes in a dialect within the diasystem by ~.

If weight is given to the phonetic fact¹⁾ that the diaphoneme // e // is [e] in dialect 1 and [ɛ] in dialect 2 the diasystem could be changed into

$$1, 2 \quad // \quad i \approx \frac{1}{2}e \approx a \approx \dots \quad //$$

If there are differences in the inventory (number) of phonemes between two dialects, this can also be shown. Say, there is one front vowel more in one dialect: the diasystem might look like this

$$1, 2 \quad // \frac{1/i \sim e \sim \ae}{2/i \sim e \sim \epsilon \sim \ae} \approx \dots //$$

The reason for placing /ɛ/ between /e/ and /æ/ is again substantial similarity.

As to the distribution of phonemes over the vocabulary which two or more dialects have in common (Troubetzkoy's etymological differences), this cannot be inferred from a diasystem of the above type, although there will be a number of regular correspondences, i.e. many of the common core items will have the "same" (phonetically similar or identical) "sound" in all dialects concerned, or will show regular differences. Weinreich does not deal with distributional differences in his diasystem as "these are the standard material of comparative study".

Moulton has taken up Weinreich on this neglect²⁾. Working

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- 1) R. Cochrane, The Australian English vowels as a diasystem, Word 15 (1959), pp. 69 ff.
Cochrane would exclude such "diaphonic" comparison from diasystems.
 - 2) W.G. Moulton, The short vowel system of northern Switzerland: a study in structural dialectology, Word 16 (1960), pp. 155 ff.

on two Swiss dialects he was able to show that although they had identical phoneme systems, speakers of the two language varieties would not accept identity of their dialects, because they "sounded" different. This is due to the fact that the two dialects use their phonemes in different sets of words.

Moulton's diasystem A (for two dialects Lu and Ap) disregards distributional differences,

A. Lu, Ap // $i \approx e \approx \epsilon \approx \text{æ} \approx a \approx o \approx u \approx \ddot{u} \approx \text{ö} \approx \text{ü}$ //

B takes historical sources into account. (The indices after the phonemes refer to degrees of opening in the Middle High German system).

B. Lu, Ap // $\text{Lu } i_0 \sim e_1, e_2 \sim \text{æ}_{3,4} / \sim \text{ä}_4 \approx \text{Lu } \text{ö}_2 \sim \text{ö}_1 \sim \text{ü}_0 \sim \text{ü}_1 \sim \text{ü}_2 /$
 $\text{Ap } i_0 \sim e_{1,2}, \epsilon_3 \sim \text{æ}_4 / \sim \text{ä}_4 \approx \text{Ap } \text{ö}_2 \sim \text{ö}_{1,2} \sim \text{ü}_1 \sim \text{ü}_{0,1} \sim \text{ü}_{1,2} \sim \text{ü}_2 /$

Except for a_4 no phoneme in any of the two dialects occurs in the same set of words. For this reason Moulton rejects the concept of Weinreich's diasystems, but Pulgram has pointed out that this might be due to the different purposes of the two linguists: Moulton is interested in mapping differences and drawing isolines, while Weinreich concentrates on structural relationships.

Moulton could be criticised for introducing historical considerations into a synchronic construct. But he argues that

"historical sources and lexical correspondences are of course two aspects of the same thing. We reconstruct historical sources on the basis of modern lexical correspondences; hence the modern lexical correspondences

can be inferred from an indication of the historical sources".¹⁾

I am not sure, whether dialectologists of the historical school would in general proceed to historical reconstruction from synchronic lexical correspondences. More often than not the procedure would be a comparison of words of a modern vernacular with their orthographical counterparts in an earlier written text. The second half of Moulton's statement is more dubious in that 4) it puts too much stress on regular historical development, but this may be due^{o)} to his concern with Swiss dialects, where historical changes seem to be very consistent, and possibly 2) to a rather small corpus.

My comparison of three vernaculars further below will be based on synchronic lexical correspondences (between the vernaculars and SSE). In this way I will avoid treating irregular historical change and put more weight on possible influence of analogy and folk-etymology (see discussion ch. III, Introductory Remarks).

1) Questionnaire

Dialectology as a discipline sees its aim in collecting comparative material for an area (or for a community) rather than in detailed information about an idiolect, which is only

1) W.G. Moulton, op.cit., p. 175, fn. 18.

the starting point for wider research. The main tool in this is the linguistic questionnaire which is always explicitly or implicitly selective and does not cover all aspects of speech. The Linguistic Atlas of England questionnaire comprises questions about historical phonology, lexicography, and morphology, but it does not cover phonemic systems, intonation, rhythm, and other "suprasegmental" aspects. The LSS which has a policy of keeping the scope of research well-defined has so far developed three separate questionnaires. Two of them deal with lexicographical problems, one concentrates on systemic relationships at the phonological level and touches, marginally, on morphological systems. Again: suprasegmental features have not been covered. These obvious omissions are no accident. The disciplines of phonetics and linguistics have not yet fully developed a satisfactory means of description of these aspects which could be used for comparison.

My own questionnaire has crystallised over a number of years and was, to begin with, much more comprehensive in its inclusion of morphological and syntactical problems. As it stands now it is limited to phonology because I realised in course of time that this was the most rewarding field of work left in view of the gradual disappearance of primary dialect features and their only potential use in a bilingual situation.

A few words about the growth of my phonological questionnaire.

In the beginning I looked for systemic differences in my

informants' connected speech. When this did not yield any tangible results, I concentrated on distributional differences. As I have said above, I found a few by just spotting them as they occurred, but was then persuaded that formal work with a questionnaire would be a better way of eliciting them. My first pilot consisted of perhaps 200 items spotted in one or the other informants in Edinburgh which were cross-checked with my three main informants. I then started to extend the questionnaire by indexing and testing all distributional differences in Ce and, later, other monographs and dictionaries on Scottish dialects available (see special section in the Bibliography) supplemented by "extras" found during fieldwork and finally - stretching the concept of common core lexis very far - by a systematic selection of items from Thorndike¹⁾. I have finally arrived at over 2500 distributional primary feature differences in about 5000 common core words. Taking into consideration that many items were checked up to three times in doubtful cases, I must have asked each of my main informants about 6000 questions concerning phonology alone. I must admit that I was very astonished at the high number of common core words and especially at finding so many distributional differences in items which I did not believe to be known or used in the dialect, cf. appetite, armour, arrest, bigotted, blasphemous, bronchitis, cambric, precise, etc. etc. This is another contribution in the destruction of the myth

1) E.L. Thorndike and I. Lorge, The Teacher's Word Book of 30 000 Words, New York 1964 (reprint).

that a dialect speaker has a very limited vocabulary and has difficulties in expressing abstract things. (We must not forget that much which is now considered to be dialect was SSE well into the last century.) When we find dialect speakers with a limited vocabulary, common core and dialect, e.g. M₂, we must compare this with how many speakers of SSE there are who know even less, and not attribute it to the formers' use of dialect¹⁾.

k) Informants

I can only give here a list of those people who have done extensive formal fieldwork with me. In one way or another many hundreds of people have contributed to my knowledge of M1 dialect and SSE over the years. Of these I would like to mention specially some 150 pupils at Edinburgh Secondary schools whom I interviewed during research on Edinburgh SSE²⁾, many shopkeepers who chatted to me endlessly, servitors at the University, cleaners, and people on buses whose conversations I overheard.

Now to the main informants:

E William Sandilands, Edinburgh, my untiring teacher and helper in all dialect matters. Born in Edinburgh 1879, died in April 1968, lived in the city all his life, attended school up to the age of 12,

1) For Fieldwork methods see Introduction, Potential and living dialect.

2) The fieldwork was carried out by me in 1961 - 64, with the support of the LSS. The material is unpublished.

served his apprenticeship as a printer and worked in this trade until 1946. He was in France during World War I and had to commute to Glasgow between 1943 - 46.

Grandparents Irish, but both parents born in Scotland and lived in Edinburgh from a very early age. (Father died shortly after W.S.'s birth).

I worked with W.S. during the last 7 years of his life. Good informant for my purpose. Had been interested in and linguistically aware of Edinburgh dialect more or less all his life. Well read in English and Scottish literature, but not over-sophisticated.

E₂ Mrs. A.S., age ca. 70, born and bred in Edinburgh, widowed housewife, has lived in the city all her life, fairly intelligent, but not particularly interested in language.

Parents both from Edinburgh.

I was able to work with her only for a limited period because of her chronic illness which made extensive hospital treatment necessary. Less suitable for my formal fieldwork than E.

E* Mr. J.K.F. Anthony, age 47, born and bred in Edinburgh, primary school up to the age of 14, 7 years night school at an Edinburgh technical college, electronic engineer. Absent from Edinburgh 1943 - 1946 (war) and 1963 - 64 (U.S.).

Mother from Edinburgh, father from Kirkliston.

Good informant, has had a training in phonetics, therefore sophisticated in linguistic matters. I have only used him to test potential primary dialect features.

- E** Under this symbol I give dialect information about Edinburgh collected from various people. It is used sparingly.
- M Mrs. E.W., Fisherrow, Musselburgh, age ca. 70, born and bred in Fisherrow, fishwife. Has never left the immediate neighbourhood all her life. Parents both from Fisherrow.
- Good informant and dialect speaker, interested in language, very intelligent and quick-witted.
- M₂ Mr. M.F., age ca. 75, born and bred in Fisherrow, Musselburgh, fisherman. Served in World War I. Parents both from Fisherrow, fishing family.
- Good dialect speaker, but not suited for extensive fieldwork. Limited vocabulary, bad reader.
- S Mr. T.B., Stow, age 69, born and bred in Stow. Steward on a farm and later worked for the County Council (road work), lived in Stow all his life except for World War I and a short interlude in the Edinburgh police and a few months in North America.
- Parents "from the district".
- Good informant, conscious of linguistic situation, very definitive in rejecting dialect forms not used in Stow.
- S₂ Mr. D.G., Stow, age ca. 75, born and bred in Stow up to the age of 6, moved about Scotland a lot working as a blacksmith. Since 1919 constantly resident at Stow.
- Good informant, but not willing to do prolonged formal work.

Chapter II

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Comparison of the Phoneme Systems in the Common Core Lexis of RP, SSE, and M1¹⁾

a) General Remarks

I have discussed the problems of synchronic structural comparison in the Introduction (p.23). To sum up the various aspects in which speech varieties can differ: there can be

- 1) phonetic differences in the realisation of phonemes,
- 2) differences in inventory, the number of phonemes involved, also called systemic difference,
- 3) distributional differences, differences in the distribution of phonemes over the common core lexis.

To these may be added:

- 4) structural²⁾ differences: differences in how the phonemes are combined in higher linguistic elements, e.g. syllables. I prefer to include this aspect under distributional differences (and have done so in the next chapter) except where the occurrence of consonants after the stressed vowel is concerned (cf. below syllable-final /x/ and /r/).

In the present chapter I shall discuss 2) and, to a lesser extent, 1) and 4). I wish to deal with 3) at greater length in

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- 1) Midlothian [M1] is used in two ways:
 1. as opposed to SSE, it means dialect;
 2. all dialect forms found in the county without reference to the individual vernacular.
 - 2) For this use of "structure" cf. D. Abercrombie, Elements of General Phonetics, Edinburgh 1967, pp. 73 ff.

the following chapter.

There is a high degree of systemic and distributional congruence between the phonemic¹⁾ systems²⁾ of RP, SSE, and M1 in their common core vocabulary. This means: if we compare the phonetic/phonemic make-up of items which, roughly, "mean the same thing" and "sound similar"³⁾, we can establish regular systemic correspondences between phonemes and state that in most items they are combined in the same way, i.e. correspond phoneme by phoneme⁴⁾.

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- 1) I use a phonemic analysis because I found it most useful in dealing with distributional differences, not because I consider it the best method of dealing with all linguistic problems at the phonological level. In my analysis I have used H. Pilch, *Phonemtheorie*, Basel 1964.
 - 2) Cf. W. Wölck, *Phonematische Analyse der Sprache von Buchan*, Heidelberg 1965, p. 47, "Die Kriterien für Entsprechung zwischen Einheiten aus verschiedenen Systemen sind deren substantielle und distributionelle Gleichheit". My treatment of this problem is different in that I do not postulate substantial identity (the two corresponding phonemes need not share all their distinctive features) and in that I do not include groups of distributional differences which consist of a large number of items (see next chapter) in my "regular correspondences", although I would admit that intercommunication is made easier if whole portions of the vocabulary can be transformed from one speech variety to the other by just replacing the stressed vowel. But as my material will show there is never full regularity in this (cf. chapter III, Stressed Vowels and Diphthongs, and compare unchanged items with the corresponding changed ones). For a slightly different point of view cf. also A.T.C. Fox, *Systemic Variation in North Staffordshire Speech*, Department of Phonetics, Edinburgh University, Work in Progress 1967, no. 1, pp. 6 ff.
 - 3) For a discussion of identification see next chapter.
 - 4) Cf. Wölck, op.cit., p. 47, on "distributionelle Gleichheit": "... wenn die beiden Einheiten in einer Vielzahl etymologisch gleicher Morpheme in sich entsprechender Stellung wiederkehren."

b) Stressed Vowels and Diphthongs (except before "-r")

I take RP as my starting-point, because it is the accent of Standard English which has been best and fullest described so far¹⁾.

In the following table^{1a)} I have given the systems of RP, SSE (as applicable to my dialect informants), and M1. Regular correspondences are connected by lines²⁾.

	<u>RP</u>	<u>SSE</u>	<u>M1</u>	
"lead" v.	i ——— i	— i	1	1
"lid"	ɪ ** ——— ɪ	— ɪ	2 **	2 **
"bait"	eɪ ——— e	— e	3	3
"bed"	ɛ ——— ɛ	— ɛ	4	4
"ham"	a ——— a	— a	5	5
"calm"	ɑ ——— ɑ	— ɑ	6	6 fn.3)
"hawk"	ɔ ——— ɔ	— ɔ	7	7
"muck"	ʌ ——— ʌ	— ʌ	8	8
"sock"	ʊ ——— ʊ	— ʊ	9	9
"soak"	oo ——— o	— o	10	10 fn.3)
"pull"	o ——— u	— u	11	11
"pool"	u ——— u	— u	12	12
"side"	aɪ ——— ɛɪ	— ɛɪ	13	13
"sighed"	aɪ ——— ae	— ae	14	14
"howl"	aʊ ——— ʌu	— ʌu	15	15
"boy"	ɔɪ ——— oɪ	— oɪ	16	16

- 1) A.C. Gimson, An Introduction to the Pronunciation of English, London 1965;
 D. Jones, An Outline of English Phonetics, 8th ed. London 1956;
 D. Jones, The Pronunciation of English, 4th ed. London 1956;
 D. Jones, Everyman's English Pronouncing Dictionary, 12th ed. London 1963;
 I.C. Ward, The Phonetics of English, 4th ed. London 1948.

1a) The figures on the right refer to code numbers for the vowels (cf. pp. 43 ff.). For the hatched lines between SSE, M1 /o/ and /ɔ/ cf. comments pp. 45 ff. The boxes are explained on pp. 38-39.

(2) and 3) see next page.)

** I is used where the entry has been added in ink.

From the point of view of SSE and M1 there are three mergers of RP phonemes (/RP /a/ and /ɑ/, RP /ɪ/ and /e/, and RP /u/ and /ʊ/) and one split (RP /æ/ corresponds to SSE /ae/ and /ɛɪ/).

These, then, I take to be the regular correspondences, they apply in all cases between RP and SSE and in the majority of cases between SSE and M1. For my present study I have assumed that SSE is completely "regular" by attributing all non-regular correspondences to the M1 dialect. SSE is an abstraction, a definitio nominis. It fulfils a useful function by providing a system of reference and by facilitating a definition of "dialect" at the phonological level¹⁾.

Secondary distributional features. A number of regular correspondences between SSE and M1 have been put in boxes in

-
- 2) The SSE system is based on unpublished research of my own (fieldwork on Edinburgh school children) and on observations made by the Department of Phonetics (now Phonetics and General Linguistics) at Edinburgh University. It would not be applicable to all SSE speakers, many retaining the contrasts /a:/ /ɑ/ and /ɪ/ (RP /ɛɪ/): /o/ although with distributional differences in comparison with RP and with each other, but the present system fits the SSE of my bilingual informants quite well. Cf. also W. Grant, *The Pronunciation of English in Scotland*, Cambridge 1913 and Wölck, op.cit., pp. 37 ff.
- 3) Cf. comments on no. 4 /ɔ/ and no. 6 /o/ below. For most SSE speakers the regular correspondences are:

	<u>RP</u>	<u>SSE</u>
"hawk"	ɔ	ɔ
"sock"	ɔ	ɔ
"soak"	oɔ	o

- 1) Work on SSE has not been extensive enough for me to attribute deviant forms from my "regular" SSE definitely to "educated Scots speech". RP /plad/ "plaid" corresponds to regular SSE /plad/, but many educated Scots speakers say /pled/. In spite of this I have attributed /pled/ to the "dialect".

the table. I do this because I do not propose to consider distributional differences between phonemes in one box, since there is a considerable phonetic overlap between allophones and, resulting from this, interference between the two systems. The study of these phenomena is a very interesting field¹⁾ and would probably be rewarding for social dialectology. I have decided to restrict myself to primary dialect features in words and have therefore only indicated some secondary features in the comments further below.

c) Consonants

The degree of systemic congruence between the consonantal phonemes of RP, SSE and M1 is high.

All three share the following phonemes:²⁾

1 b	7 m	13 ʒ	19 r
2 d	8 n	14 f	w
3 g	9 ŋ	15 θ	j
4 p	10 v	16 s	(ʌ)
5 t	11 ʃ	17 ʃ	h
6 k	12 z	18 l	

-
- 1) Wölck, op.cit., has given a good deal of attention to this kind of "Überlagerung der beiden Systeme", but his account of Buchan SSE is probably not quite correct and his attribution of some allophones of a phoneme to SSE and some to Buchan dialect is doubtful especially as he does not say, whether he considers SSE and Buchan abstractions.
Cf. J.Y. Mather's review of Wölck in Journal of Linguists 4, (1968), pp. 121 ff.
- 2) I have given those consonants which appear in post-tonic position in RP, SSE, and M1 first, together with their code number.

/ʍ/ Not all RP speakers have /ʍ/ which occurs in a number of words in initial position for "wh"-spellings in SSE (cf. "what, which, wheel", etc.).

/x/ does not occur in post-tonic position in RP, but in some words in SSE ("loch, dreich") and in many words in M1, especially in items with "-gh" spellings (like "right, weight, bought," etc., see Index). In pre-tonic position [ç], which is an allophone of /x/ in SSE, M1¹⁾, may contrast in RP with /j/ if followed by /u/, cf. "Hugh": "ewe" RP /xu/ [çu] or /ju/: /ju/, but it is not usually set up as a separate phoneme in RP²⁾. In SSE it contrasts regularly in this position, in M1 it also occurs in front of /e/, cf. Gloss. "hames" /xemz/ [çemz]. - Here we have a potential systemic difference between RP and SSE, M1.

/r/ does not occur in post-tonic position in RP, but regularly in SSE and M1 which is the most striking structural difference. In its place RP often has /ə/ or may have a linking "r" (or a linking glottal stop). However, it is not always possible to find a clue as to the presence of "r" in the pronunciation of RP alone (cf. the first "r" in "porter" /pɔtə/: "daughter" /dɔtə/; "arms" /ɑmz/: "alms" /ɑmz/ etc.).

The simplest way of giving a rule about the difference in the occurrence of /r/ in RP and SSE is to take spelling into consideration: SSE pronounces all "r"s.

1) Cf. p. 54

2) Cf. Gimson, op.cit., p. 209. He transcribes the phoneme as /hj/ like most other phoneticians who deal with this problem. I have chosen /x/ for comparative reasons.

d) System of Stressed Vowels and Diphthongs Followed by "r"

	<u>RP</u>	<u>SSE</u>	<u>M1</u>
"here"	ɪə — —	ɪr —	ɪr
"there"	ɛə — —	er, r —	er, ɛr
"cure"	ʊə — —	ur — —	ur
"hard"	/a/ + "r" — —	ar — —	ar, ɔr
"door"	/ɔ/ + "r" — —	or ¹⁾ — —	or
"flower"	ɑwə — —	ʌur — —	(ʌur)
"fire"	aeə — —	aer, ɛɪr — —	aer, ɛɪr
"Moir"	ɔɪə — —	oɪr — —	oɪr

But note that the listed vocalic phonemes often show an /ə, ɛ/ in front of /r/ in SSE and M1. They are treated in my classification in the next chapter as they appear in the table.

e) SSE, M1 Equivalents of RP /ɜ/

RP /ɜ/ + "r" has four correspondences in SSE and M1:

- 1) /ɜ/ + /r/
- 2) /ɛ/ + /r/
- 3) /ʌ/ + /r/
- 4) /ɪ/ + /r/

There is an addition of one stressed vowel phoneme: No. 11 /ɜ/.

Spelling can give us a guide about the distribution of these equivalents.

1) If there is "i, y" in the spelling, SSE, M1 /ɪ, ɛ, ʌ/ or /ɜ/ + /r/ is the regular set of correspondences in that a

1) Most SSE speakers have /or/ and /ɔr/. But cf. comments on No. 6 below.

speaker will choose one or more of the alternatives.

Cf. "girl" -SSE /gɪrl, gɛrl, gʌrl, gɜrl/.

2) If there is "e, ea" in the spelling the correspondences in SSE, M1 are /ɛ, ɜ / + /r/.

Cf. "sermon" /sɛrmən, sɜrmən/.

3) If "u" only is in the spelling the correspondences in SSE, M1 are /ʌ, ɜ, ɛ/.

Cf. "fur" /fʌr, fɛr, fɜr/.

If "ou" is in the spelling the correspondences are SSE, M1 /ɜ, ʌ/ + /r/.

dʒ | dʒ |
Cf. "journey" /jɜrni, jʌrni/.

4) If "wo" occurs in the spelling the correspondences are SSE, M1 /ʌ, ɜ /.

Cf. "world" /wʌrld, wɜrld/.

There is a great deal of free variation within one idiolect, and the distribution within a speech community is extremely complex and probably even more complicated than indicated above.

Some of the exceptions from the rules have been included in the distributional differences (cf. 2.11.19 and others).

f) Unstressed Vowels

There is one additional vowel in RP, SSE, M1, no. 12 /ə/ (cf. comments on no. 12 below). It is often dropped after stressed vowel or diphthong ^{before} consonant. (Cf. p. 263)

g) Comments on the SSE, M1 Phonemes

Vowels and Diphthongs

I would like to give a description of the various phonemes in SSE and M1 only in so far as is necessary for the understanding of the following chapter. I have not attempted to give a phonetic comparison with RP, but have only described some variants in SSE and M1 as they appear in the speech of my informants. The phonemes or group of phonemes are given their code number.

No. 1 / i /

In common core lexis SSE, M1 /i/ is the corresponding vowel phoneme for RP /i/. It is a close ~~high~~ front vowel.

No. 2 /ɪ/

SSE, M1 /ɪ/ corresponds to RP /ɪ/. It is a retracted front vowel with varying degrees of opening: at its closest it may be half-way between close and half-close, at its openest nearly half-open. In the latter case it comes close to /ɛ/, in connected speech I found it sometimes difficult to distinguish between e.g. "hill" and "hell". A further clue for /ɪ/ is, however, that it cannot be lengthened.

After /w,ʷ/ /ɪ/ is often centralized and slightly lip-rounded. (Cf. Ce pp. 30-31. According to him the older generation have /ʌ/ for /ɪ/ in this (and other) position, (cf. DD 5.2 below ch. III)). The same happens occasionally after /b/.

In non-tonic position it may alternate with No. 12 /ə/ (q.v.).

I have not considered here a vowel phoneme between /ɪ/ and /ɛ/¹⁾, which occurs in some words in the speech of E*, e.g. in "ever, never", (cf. ch. III, 2.3.10; fn. IV). This phoneme is rather rare in the district. A special study of its occurrence in SSE should be made.

No. 3 /e, ɛ/

SSE, M1 /e/ corresponds to RP /e/. It is a half-close front vowel, but it can be closer or, in other cases, opener. It is always a monophthong except occasionally in open syllable before pause, where it may be slightly diphthongised [e^ɪ].

SSE, M1 /ɛ/ corresponds to RP /ɛ/. It is a half-open front vowel, but it can in some speakers be nearly half-close (e.g. E₂, M), in others half-way between open and half-open (e.g. S).

There is a good deal of phonetic overlap between the two phonemes. In citation utterances they are usually kept apart, in connected speech they may occasionally fall together. Difficulties in attributing a sound to /e/ or /ɛ/ arise sometimes when it is pronounced rather short. Similar observations have been made in other accents of Standard English but not in RP²⁾.

In front of /r/ E prefers /ɛ/, but he is not consistent.

In the big group of distributional differences DD 3.1

1) Cf. D. Abercrombie, A Scottish Vowel, in Studies in Phonetics and Linguistics, London 1965, pp. 137-8.

The phoneme is often referred to as vowel no. 4a.

2) I owe the last remark to Prof. Abercrombie.

(M1 /e,ε/ corresponds to SSE /a/) informants have in many items wavered between /ε/ and /e/ in their dialect pronunciation, so that there are many differences in the distribution of /e,ε/ in the various vernaculars.

I therefore decided to treat /e/ and /ε/ in one group and I have not specially studied distributional differences, but where I have information about them I have included it in the Index. (There are more examples than those given in Wt. and Ce. Cf. Appendix II for Wt., and Ce, p. 27.)

The distinction between /e/ and /ε/ is in my opinion not a primary dialect feature, but a close study may prove useful in sociolinguistic investigations.

Note that in some words M1 /ε/ occurs in open syllables, cf. E "flea", S "yae" (one), see Index.

No. 4 /a,ɔ/

SSE, M1 /a/ corresponds to RP /a/ and /ɑ/. It is usually a central open vowel, but there are free variants close to front open and back open.

/ɔ/ is a rounded half-open back vowel. In the speech of my informants it corresponds to RP /ɔ/, or /ɒ/ preceded by "w, wh". (For the majority of SSE speakers /ɔ/ corresponds to RP /ɔ/ and all /ɒ/. (Cf. also under no. 6).)

In my three vernaculars EMS /ɔ/ was often given as an

equivalent of SSE /a/¹⁾, but the speakers did not always seem to be aware of a difference and in connected speech changed from using /ɔ/ for /a/ frequently in one stretch of speech to using /a/ only in another. This correspondence between SSE /a/ and M1 /ɔ/ is not used by younger people in common core words, where they use SSE /a/ throughout, but they might switch from /a/ to /ɔ/ in dialect words.

For the same fluctuation in Wt. see Appendix II, list 3. Ce's comments (cf. Ce p. 25-6) on the geographical distribution of this phenomenon are not correct.-It was not found by me in South Queensferry, west of Edinburgh.

No. 5 /ʌ/

SSE, M1 /ʌ/ corresponds to RP /ʌ/. It is an advanced back vowel with various degrees of opening from half-open, with an [ɔ]-like quality (e.g. E, S), to open overlapping with allophones of SSE, M1 /a/, but always short (e.g. E₂, M, S₂). Like /ɪ/, /ʌ/ is a short vowel. Between /w,ʍ/ and /l/, /ʌ/ has a [u]-like quality: cf. M1 "Will", Pers.N. [wʌl].

No. 6 /o/

SSE, M1 /o/ is a rounded half-close back vowel. It is a monophthong in Scots except occasionally in open syllable before pause where it can be slightly diphthongised [o^u] (e.g. E).

1) This is much more common than /a/ for SSE /ɔ/ but I got /a/ in: "sausage, sauce, talk, walk, watch," and others.

For my main informants SSE, M1 /o/ corresponds to RP /ɒ/ and /oʊ/. This is an idealisation of the actual situation which is rather complex. For most SSE speakers /o/ corresponds only to RP /oʊ/, whereas RP /ɒ/ and /ɔ/ are merged in SSE /ɔ/. This has influenced the speech of my informants. Thus in words like "sock" they use [o·] or a shorter variant [ɔ̃] which is often lowered [ɔ̃, ɔ̃] thus overlapping with /ɔ/, but shorter. The same has happened with equivalents of RP /oʊ/ in "coat, soak", etc.

Before /r/ my informants have usually /o/, but there is a tendency in connected speech to use /ɔ/ before /r/ + consonant. Before /l/ + consonant /ɔ/ is also frequently heard, cf. "cold, old". I have regularised to /o/.

There are often distributional differences between SSE /ɔ/ (cf. comments on no. 4 for RP equivalents) and SSE /o/. I have heard /o/ in "auditor, watch, swarm" and /ɔ/ in "coat, notice, road", etc. in connected speech. It is sometimes difficult to attribute pronunciations to one or the other phoneme because of intermediate qualities. I have therefore not considered distributional differences between no. 4 and no. 6 except where /a/ corresponds to /o/, or where /ɔ/ stands for /o/ in open syllable (cf. DD 4.6 next chapter).

No. 7 /u/

SSE, M1 /u/ corresponds to RP /ʊ/ and /u/. It is a close back vowel, sometimes slightly diphthongised in open syllable [u^w]. In SSE /u/ is often fronted in all contexts. This may

be a social marker. I have not found it in my main informants. S has a more fronted allophone after /j/ and also sometimes in "hoof" /huf/ [hüf] beside M1 /hɪf/ and in "funeral" [fünərəɪ] beside M1 /finərəɪ/. Could the fronted sounds in these two words be survivors of the historical rounded antecedents of the present-day dialect vowels? (Cf. Appendix II, list 1).

No. 8 /ɛɪ, ae/

SSE, M1 /ɛɪ, ae/ corresponds to RP /aɪ/.

/ɛɪ/ has as its beginning point a half-open retracted vowel [ɛ̠] for my main informants, but [ʌɪ] starting with an advanced half-open spread vowel /ʌ/ is more common. The ending point /ɪ/ is in all cases the closer variant of no. 2 /ɪ/. After /w, l/ the first element of /ɛɪ/ is often centralised as in "wine, line".

/ae/ has one of the variants of /a/ as its beginning point and finishes in general with a half-close slightly retracted vowel. In Musselburgh the second element is sometimes (especially with M₂) very short and open and hardly audible. "Byre" and "bar" are distinguished in the following way: [ba:r] : [bɔ:r, ba:r].

In M1 the two phonemes contrast in open syllable, e.g. "pay" /pɛɪ/ and "pie" /pae/, but there is a tendency to have only /ae/ in open syllable like SSE (in words like "hay, May, J", etc. cf. 8.3.20 next chapter). But it is usually possible to find a few contrasts in SSE and M1 in each speaker.

The distribution of the two sounds is, therefore, not quite complementary, but there are certain trends: /ɛɪ/ tends to occur before plosives, /m, n, l, f/, and /s/; /æ/ in words ending in open syllable, even if an inflectional ending is added; where it corresponds to RP /æə/; after /v, ð, θ, z/; in polysyllabic words in open (phonetically defined) syllable¹⁾.

Against the rule are e.g. [ɛɪ] beside [æ] in "fire" EMS, "ties" E, "dried" E, and many others. - Wt. does not make the distinction, Ce gives /ɛɪ/ in e.g. "byre, drive, hire, scythe, why", in addition to /æ/.

No. 9 /ʌu/

SSE, M1 /ʌu/ corresponds to RP /aʊ/. It has as its beginning point an advanced half-open spread vowel.

No. 10 /oɪ/

SSE, M1 /oɪ/ corresponds to RP /ɔɪ/. For my main informants it has a rather close beginning and ending point. (For most types of SSE /ɔe/ would be a better transcription.)

No. 11 /ɜ/

(Cf. above d)) Where it occurs SSE, M1 /ɜ/ is not much different from the RP vowel, an unrounded central vowel.

No. 12 /ə/

RP, SSE, M1 /ə/ only occurs in unstressed syllables. In

1) Cf. Daniel Jones, The Pronunciation of English, 4th ed. London 1956, §§ 180 - 181.

some words it stands in free variation with unstressed /ɪ/ as in e.g. "delay, belong, behave"; "awful*, piano*, barrow*" (especially M).

In words like "aback, along, arrest" it alternates with /a/ or /ʌ/; in unstressed prefixes like "for-, con-" with /o/. In the latter examples /o/ seems to be a spelling pronunciation. (Cf. affixes at end of this chapter.)

For /ɛ/ + consonant instead of /ə/ + consonant at the end of an intonation contour in connected speech, cf. J.Y. Mather, On Describing Edinburgh Speech, University of Edinburgh Gazette No. 27 (1960), pp. 35 ff.

Vowel Length

Vowel Length (except for /ɪ/, /ʌ/) varies considerably in each idiolect and in the speech community. It is again only possible to indicate trends.

Vowels tend to be:

long in open syllable (word-final),
half-long before voiced fricatives, /l/, and /r/,
half-long or short before voiceless fricatives.

In front of voiced plosives vowels are sometimes longer than before voiceless plosives.

Consonants

Post-tonic consonants

The following consonants can occur immediately after the stressed vowel. They appear in the order of their code-numbers.

Voiced stops

- 1) /b/ voiced bilabial stop
- 2) /d/ " dental /post-dental/ alveolar stop
- 3) /g/ " velar stop

Fully voiced in all positions for E, E₂, M, and sometimes S have devoiced final stops instead, the contrast with /p, t, k/ being maintained by differences in vowel length (longer in front of /b, d, g/).

Voiceless stops

- 4) /p/ voiceless bilabial stop
- 5) /t/ " dental / post-dental / alveolar stop
- 6) /k/ " velar stop

The degree of aspiration varies. In initial position it is often considerably less than in RP.

No. 5) has a free variant /p/ in inter-vocalic and final position, and after /l/, /r/ and /n/ in SSE and M1: "bottle" SSE ['bɒpəl], M1 ['bɒpəl]; "bit" SSE, M1 [bɪt]; "belted" SSE, M1 ['bɛltɪd]; "quarter" SSE, M1 ['kwɔrtər], sometimes ['kwɔpər]; "wanted" SSE, M1 ['wɒntɪd] or more commonly ['wɒpɪd]. In enclitic position "to" loses initial /t/: "tried to" [traɪə, traɪe].

Ce's statement (p. 17) that the "glottal catch" is rare in



Lothian, but common in Fife has not been confirmed by my field-work. Wt. has a few words in which the transcription seems to indicate by dashes, colons, and full-stops that there were glottal stops at the turn of the century in our area (cf. Wt. "butter, nettle, kettle, Saturday").

[ɹ] or /ɹ/? In a small number of words like "wanted, plenty, centre, quarter, sort of" and others [ɹ] often stands for SSE, M1 /nt/ or /rt/. In these contexts it is not a free variant of /t/, i.e. one could never get e.g. *[wɔtɪɹ] for "wanted", whereas there are the pronunciations [wɔɹɪ] and [wɔtɪ] for "Wattie" (Walter). I have not set up [ɹ] as a separate phoneme in the above example, because its occurrence is rather restricted. I have treated [ɹ] for "nt" in the next chapter under Consonant Loss (loss of /n/).

Nasals

- 7) /m/ voiced bilabial nasal
In "something" [sm̩m̩] only there is a voiceless bilabial nasal.
- 8) /n/ voiced post-dental / alveolar nasal
RP /nt̪/ is usually /n̪/ in SSE, M1 (cf. "bench, bunch", etc.).
- 9) /ŋ/ velar nasal
Many SSE speakers and all dialect speakers have no /-ŋg-/ in words like "finger, mingle, angry" but use /-ŋ-/ instead (exceptions: words like "flamingo, Bingo").

All three nasals can be syllabic /m, n, ŋ/; cf. also under /r/.

Voiced fricatives

- 10) /v/ voiced labio-dental fricative
- 11) /ð/ " dental / post-dental fricative
- 12) /z/ " alveolar fricative, narrow groove
- 13) /ʒ/ " " " , wide groove

These fricatives are often devoiced at the end of a word before pause and, less widely spread amongst my informants, in inter-vocalic position (especially M).

For /dʒ/ see under /j/ below.

Voiceless fricatives

- 14) /f/ voiceless labio-dental fricative
- 15) /θ/ " dental / post-dental fricative
For /θr-/ see under /r/ below.
- 16) /s/ voiceless alveolar fricative, narrow groove
- 17) /ʃ/ " " " , wide groove

- 18) /l/ is a voiced lateral.

There is velarisation in all positions in the syllable, but sometimes /l/ sounds darker finally.

19) /r/ is usually a voiced roll in the dialect in all positions with partial devoicing in final position. Inter-vocalically it can also be a flap [ɾ]. In SSE the roll is still quite common, but a voiced frictionless continuant is more frequently found. Over the last 10 years it has been observed that teenagers, especially girls, tend to use a retroflexed

frictionless continuant.

For /θr-/ as in "thread, threepence, throat" a voiceless frictionless continuant [θ̥] is often heard.

/n, m, l/ preceded by /r/ in word final position are often syllabic, cf. "darn, farm, curl", etc.

- [20) For the structural position vowel in open syllable I have used the code figure 20.]

Consonantal phonemes which do not occur in post-tonic position

/w/ is a labio-velar semivowel.

/j/ palatal unrounded semivowel. Word-initially it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between /tj-/ [tj̥-] as in "Tuesday", /dj-/ [dj̥-] as in "due" and /dʒ-/ [dʒ̥-] as in "Jew". - /j/ is also devoiced in SSE, M1 /tj̥ər, -tj̥uəl/ "-ture, -tual" (cf. also notes on Suffixes at the end of this chapter).

/ɱ/ voiceless labio-velar fricative (cf. p.40).

Ce and N report /w/ for /ɱ/ in Newhaven.

/x/ voiceless velar fricative (cf. p.40) in syllable-final position and a voiceless palatal fricative [ç] in syllable-initial position.

Both allophones are found in SSE and M1. In RP the "dia-phoneme" //x// (cf. p.27) consists of only one member, namely [ç].

More fronted velar fricatives occur after palatal vowels.

/h/ glottal fricative.

Affixes

The following non-tonic affixes ~~or syllables~~ often differ from RP in pronunciation (cf. also p. 50):

"con-"	/kən-, kon-, kɒn-/
"for-"	/fər-, for-, fɔr-/
"-ing"	/ɪn, -ən, -ɪ/
"-less"	/ləs, -lɪs, -ləs/
"-ment"	/-mənt, -mənt/
"re-"	/rɛ-, rɪ-/
"-tian"	/-tʃən/
"-tual"	/tʃuəl/
"-ture"	/-tʃər/ (cf. /j/)

Stress

I distinguish between tonic (or stressed) and non-tonic syllables. Under the latter category I have included unstressed syllables and those with a secondary stress.

For Assimilation cf. p. 293.

Chapter III

=====

Distributional Differences in the Common Core Lexis of SSE and M1

A. General Remarks

I will now proceed to the central part of my studies, a description and classification of differences in distribution between SSE and potential primary dialect features found in Midlothian. ¹⁾ As far as I am aware, this has not been attempted before on the scale and by use of the methods I have developed here. ²⁾ Traditional dialect monographs prefer in general to use as their standard of reference a reconstructed earlier stage of the language or dialect under consideration. Their interest is more in establishing sound-changes than describing a synchronic state of bilingualism; this has often undoubtedly been due in many cases to a predominantly monolingual situation in the investigated dialect areas, but it also reflects the influence of a climate of opinion on the authors. Ever since the days of Schmeller ³⁾ the historical point of view has dominated dialect

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- 1) For a discussion of "potential", "primary dialect feature", and "Midlothian" see the Introduction.
 - 2) Some elementary comparison of "English" and "Scots" pronunciations is found in the glossaries of 18th century Scottish poets (e.g. Ramsay, Burns, Fergusson) and in most dialect monographs (Murray, Watson and Wilson being the best, cf. Bibliography).
 - 3) Cf. J.A. Schmeller, Die Mundarten Bayerns grammatisch dargestellt, München, 1821.

studies. It is little known, however, that Schmeller himself considered initially using a comparison of the Bavarian dialect "mit der insgesamt als Muster angenommenen Mischsprache gebildeter Obersachsen". ¹⁾ (He changed his mind after the appearance of J. Grimm's "Grammatik" (1819)).

But even more recent synchronic monographs giving "phonematic descriptions" either disregard or pay little attention to distributional differences. ²⁾ The authors seem to regard vernaculars which have the same inventory of phonemes to form a homogeneous dialect. That this is not so, I will try to show in the comparative sections further below: my vernaculars have the same number of phonemes, but they differ in their distribution over the common core lexis (of M1 and SSE) some retaining SSE in an item, where the others have a common or divergent dialect forms. Looking at distributional differences means considering historical sources in a synchronic study (see above Introduction). In giving my full attention to this aspect of synchronic dialectology I hope to make evident the importance of a rather neglected field of research.

I need hardly stress here that the reason for not having

1) Schmeller 1819 as quoted by W. Streitberg in ch. 4 "Die lebenden Mundarten" in "Geschichte der indogermanischen Sprachwissenschaft, vol. II, Germanisch, Berlin 1936.

2) W. Wölck, Phonematische Analyse der Sprache von Buchan, Heidelberg 1965.

W. Viereck, Phonematische Analyse des Dialekts von Gateshead-upon-Tyne/Co. Durham, Hamburg 1966 and my review in *Phonetica* 18 (1968), pp. 119 ff.

used historical comparison, is not that I disapprove of its method. I have not chosen a synchronic comparison, because I consider the dialect a corruption of the standard language. ¹⁾ I do believe that the juxtaposition of dialect and SSE in a bilingual context may throw light on the workings of the dialect and the influence it is exposed to, e.g. the appearance of historically unsupported dialect forms. Eventually a combined synchronic and diachronic description will provide hypotheses for the solution of many problems. ²⁾

I should like to close the argument with a sentence by J. Grimm himself who says about the comparison of dialects:

"Einzelnes zusammentreffen beweist freilich nicht genug; hat man erst solcher linien mehr gezogen und viele be-
rührungs- oder abstandspuncte gewonnen, so wird sich die
sonderung mancher dialecte fast mathematisch nachrechnen
lassen".³⁾

I hope to be able to show below that this can be achieved by my method.

-
- 1) In the present situation in my area, one could say that SSE has a corrupting influence on the dialect.
 - 2) An admirably clear example of this method is Marthe Philipp, *Le Système Phonologique du Parler de Blaesheim, Etude Synchronique et Diachronique*, Nancy 1965.
 - 3) J. Grimm, *Deutsche Grammatik*, 2. Abdruck 1821, I. Theil, Vorrede p. XV. (He is referring to differences in words, not sounds.)

Because of the bulk of the material and the typographical complications involved, I have decided not to give phonetic transcriptions in this volume of my thesis. Continuous reference should therefore be made to vol. II Index, especially if a word has an asterisk (*) which means that there have been other changes in the dialect than those given by the heading under which the item occurs.

Identification. The whole method of synchronic comparison hinges on the identification of a SSE item with a dialect item. The procedure of eliciting information was the one usually adopted by the LSS fieldworkers: the item is presented in SSE, the informant is then asked to produce the dialect pronunciation. As explained in the Introduction, many Scottish speakers are used to this kind of "phonological" translation. Sometimes the informant was asked to provide a Standard form for a dialect item. ¹⁾

The identification is twofold: a) semantic: the informant must know which word the fieldworker is aiming at and must therefore, if necessary, be provided with a semantic clue and
b) formal: generally by the consonantal skeleton and the order in which the phonemes occur in both SSE and the dialect (cf.ch.II).

In general I have paid attention to informants' reactions and opinions about these matters and have tried to avoid intruding

1) "Item" in my thesis is in general co-extensive with "word": I have studied the phonological differences between SSE and M1 at the "rank" of word.

with preconceived historical identifications, even when I knew that certain identifications were "wrong" from an etymological point of view. ¹⁾ Fortunately doubtful identifications have turned out not to be too frequent.

If there were doubts about the identification, the item in question was put in inverted commas.

- e.g. "near" (stingy) 3.1.19;
near does not exist in this meaning in
Standard English;
- "neat" (cattle) 9.1.5;
the informants did not know this rather
rare Standard English word;
- "pin" 1.2.8 CA;
the dialect "preen" (beside "peen") is
not formally identical and one informant
(M) expressed doubts;
- "poverise" (impoverish) 1.8.12 str.;
the informants insisted that this was
the Standard English word for "povereese",
etc.

For distributional differences of stressed vowels and diphthongs I have aimed at a rather complete survey and have developed a system of evaluation and juxtaposition which is explained in the Introductory Remarks of that section.

The sections on non-tonic vowels, consonants, and stress are less full and the conventions are explained in the Introductory Remarks to non-tonic syllables (p.253).

1) I have thus given more prominence to folk-etymology and analogy.

B. Stressed Vowels and Diphthongs¹⁾

a) Unchanged Items

Introductory Remarks

I include here items in which the stressed vowel and the post-tonic consonant is the same in both M1 and SSE. ²⁾ Not all UI were known to all informants and not all have been tested in all localities (cf. Index).

The number of entries (not words) of each subsection is given at the end. Inflectional forms (plurals and tense endings) are in general not included, derivational endings have often been added in brackets, but complete consistency has not been attempted.

The code for UI has two digits. The first refers to the stressed vowel, the last to the post-tonic consonant.

An asterisk (*) after an entry means that there can be changes other than those excluded above.

e.g. 2.6 strict*

Both M1 and SSE have no. 2 /ɪ/ as stressed vowel and no. 6 /k/ as post-tonic consonant but the M1 form is /striɪk/ with loss of final /t/.

1) For the meaning of the figures in the code in this section see chapter II or under Abbreviations.

2) I.e. for all of my informants.

Section 1: SSE, M1 /i/1.1

feeble glebe rebate = 3

1.2

bead beadle breed, v. cathedral creed deed edict
exceeding feed freedom greedy heed immediately
indeed * lead, v. leader legion medium need needle
plead proceed read(ing) reed region seed speed
succeed tweed weed wheedle = 31

1.3

beagle, n. league meagre = 3

1.4

asleep cheap creep deep heap people reap seep
sheep sleep steeple weep = 12

1.5

beach beech beet bleach(er) bleat breach cheat
compete complete completely deceit defeat, n. detail
each eat feat, n. feature fleet greet heat, n.
heater, n. impeachment leech meat meet meeting meter

1.5 ctd.

UI 1.5

peach peat Peter preach reach repeat retch retreat
saltpeter* sheet sleet speech street sweet teach
teacher treat, v. treaty wheat = 46

1.6

beacon beak bleak cheek deacon frequent Greek leak
leek peak reeky seek shriek speak squeak meek = 16

1.7

beam cream dream extreme extremely female gleam
museum* ream, n. scream seam seem steam stream
team = 15

1.8

bean between* clean Dean fiend green keen lean, v.
lenient machine meaning queen = 12

1.10

achieve beaver believe cleave deceive eave evening
evil grieve heave reave sleeve upheaval weevil = 14

1.11

breathe = 1

1.12

breeze breezy cheese disease ease easy freeze frieze

1.12 ctd.

UI 1.12

pease please queasy wheeze = 12

1.14

beef belief brief chief grief leaf relief thief = 8

1.15

beneath* heath teeth = 3

1.16

beast cease east eastern feast fleece geese in-
crease, v. lease, n. niece peace piece priest
release thesis = 15

1.17

appreciate leash species = 3

1.18

appeal ceiling eel feel field heel ideal keel
kneel peel reel repeal, v. seal steal steel steel-
yard veal wheel wield yield zeal = 21

1.19

appear appearance beer bier cheer dear deer dis-
appear dreary ear engineer fear fierce gear hear
here hero imperial inferior interfere material peer

1.19 ctd.

UI 1.19

period pier pierce queer rear series shear sneer
steer superior veneer volunteer year* yearling
zero = 37

1.20

agree be bee degree disagree fee flee free key
knee lea me pea plea quay referee sea see spree
tea three tree = 22

Section 2: SSE, M1 /1/

2.1

bib biblical dibble, n. dribble, v. liberty nib, n.
quibble rib ribbon* scribble = 10

2.2

abridge bid, v. consider fiddle frigid giddy lid
individual kid kidney middle midge pigeon quid
riddle skid, v. width = 17

2.3

dig ignorant* "litigious" pig sprig trigger twig
wiggle = 8

2.4

chip clip cripple dip equip equipment flippant

2.4 ctd.

UI 2.4

gipsy hip inscription kippers lip nip ripple ship
slip strip tip tipsy trip tripple = 21

2.5

acquit admit bit, n. bitter Britain British citizen
city commit ditch fit flit, v. grit it* kitchen
knit literature litter, n. (brood) little mitt
permit, v. pit pitch pretty quits rich sit snitch, v.
spit, v. switch whittle, n. witness = 32

2.6

chicken brick conviction Dick dictionary fickle fix
flick flicker hiccup inflict intermixture kick lick
liquid liquor liquorice* mix mixture picket pickle
prick quick sickle rick, n. stick, n. strict* thick
ticket trick victory wicked = 32

2.7

brim dim grim him hymn imitate impulse Jim limb
primrose rim simple simulate skim slim sympathy
timber timorous whimper = 19

2.8

begin bin chin cinema clinic convince din dwindle*
fin flinch flint gin ginger glint, v. grin hinge

2.8 ctd.

UI 2.8

hint in inch incident income India indicate
industry infant influence injure inn innocent
inroad insect instrument instance instant inter-
view intimate into* invoice kin linen mint pinch
prince princess principal principle print shin
shinty* sin sinister skin skinflint spin stint
thin tin tinder twin vinegar whin win wince
winch wincey window* winter within* = 68

2.9

Bingo blink bring brink chink cling clink
distinction drink England English fling, n.v. ink
linger links mingle pink ring rink shingle shrink
sing single sink sling spring sting stink string
thing think tinker wing wink = 34

2.10

deliver(y) liver privacy river shiver shrivel = 6

2.11

slither wither = 2

2.12

business busy chisel dizzy is scissors = 6

2.13UI 2.13

derision

= 1

2.14

cliff differ(ence) different difficult(y) drift

fifteen fifty fifth* gift indifferent lift, v.

rift sift sniff specific tiff

= 16

2.15

kith myth pith Smith

= 4

2.16

assist(ance) biscuit bliss brisk Christian Christmas

cistern crisp discipline* disk dismiss distance

district enlist exist fist glisten hiss history

illicit implicit insist issue kiss lisp listen miss

mist pistol risk sister Swiss system this thistle*

twist wisp whist

= 38

2.17

commission dish fish fisher mission prohibition

= 6

2.18

bill billow brilliant building chill diligent film

filter filth frill fulfill grill guilt(y) hill(y)

ill illustrate kill kiln* kilt lilt, v. mill miller

2.18 ctd.

UI 2.18

million military pillow* shilling shrill silk silly
stability still thrill till village = 34

2.19

irritable irritate mirror satirical squirrel = 5

Section 3: SSE. M1 /e/ or /ɛ/

3.1

able cable February gable labour maybe rebel sabre
stable stabilize table = 11

3.2

afraid age agency agent aid allege bed bedroom
blade, v. braid cage courageous cradle credit edge
Edinburgh* engage evade fade fledge gage hedge
invade ladle lady maid major medal medicine page
parade pedlar persuade pledge radio rage raid ready
regiment register sedge serenade* shade shed sledge
spade stage trade tread vegetable wage = 51

3.3

beg beggar dregs egg flagrant leg legacy legging
peg pregnant vagrant vague = 12

3.4

UI 3.4

accept* apricot apron* capable cape caper drape
drapery escape* grape incapable nape paper pepper
scapegoat scrape separate shape shepherd tape
vapor

= 21

3.5

athletic athletics bait bet better crate create
date debate debt estate fatal fate fetch fête
fetter forget gait grate grateful grating gratis
great hate Katy kettle late letters lettuce mate
matron metal net native nature* nettle pate patent
patron pet plate rate regret relate Satan set
settle skate sketch slate* spate, n. state state-
ment threat threaten traitor translate treacherous
upset wait wretch

= 61

3.6

ache acorn affect affection bacon bake break break-
fast cake check collect* connect connection correct*
deck decorate detect direction director echo* effect
elect electric* erect execute expect expert export
extra* faked flake infection inspector intellectual
lake lectures mistake naked neck object, v. peck
protect reckon rectify reflection reject respect*
sacred sake second secretary sect shake, v. snake

3.6 ctd.

UI 3.6

stake steak suspect text vacancy vancant vex wake
wreck

= 63

3.7

aim ashamed assembly attempt blame claim condemn
embassy eminent empire empty* fame famous flame
frame game gem hem hemp James lame main member
memoir memory name November remember resemble same
September shame stem tame temperature them trembling*

= 37

3.8

abstain acquainted* adventure again ancient angel
arrange arrangement attain attend* attention bane
bayonet benefit bend bent blain brain campaign
Canaan cane cement century champagne complaint
contain consent, v. content convention dainty danger
dangerous defend defence dense dentist depend*
descent detain drain drench eccentric end endless
enemy energy enter enterprise entertain entrance
event except* expense expensive explain faint fence
ferment French gain general generally generous gentle
gentleman genuine grain grange Gwen hen hen-roost
Henry independence independent immense insane intend*
intense intention intervention invention Jane kennel

3.8 ctd.

UI 3.8

main maintain mane mania men mend mention offend
pain paint pen penny pension pertain plain plane
pretend prevent rain recommend refrain reign
remain resent restrain retainer saint sane scent
senator send sense sensible sentence separate shep-
herd slender Spain spend splendid stain strainer
strange stranger suspense ten tenant tender tene-
ment tennis tension tent then train training
trench trend vain vein venture = 143

3.10

behave bevel brave cave engraving evergreen evidence
favour, n. favourable favour(ed) favourite flavour
grave gravy heavy knave level naval navel navy
pavement raven savings sever several shave slave
wave, n. waver = 29

3.11

blether feather heather leather, n. = 4

3.12

amaze amazing crazy daisy daze desert gaze graze
haze hesitate lazy nasal pheasant phrase praise
presence president raisin resident = 19

3.13UI 3.13

invasion occasional(ly) treasure

= 3

3.14

effort hefty preface reference safe safety theft = 7

3.15

atheist breath death faith faithful meth method = 7

3.16

ace address base basic basin best case chase chess
confess congest congestion cress crest desert, n.(sand)
desk desperate detest disgrace dress excessive express
face fester festival grace guess guest hasty hesitate
hessian, n.* incessant investigate lace less lesson
mason mess message molest necessary nest pace, v.
paste pastry pest possess precipice press, v.
professor protest race request, v. rescue rest space
specify success suggest taste test testify trace
vessel vest waist waste yes = 68

3.17

admiration application arbitration association
celebration compensation confession conversation
coronation corporation dedication demonstration
donation education* examination expectation ex-

3.17 ctd.

UI 3.17

planation expression flesh fresh generation
gracious immigration inflation information in-
gratiate nation operation organization patient
population possession precious pressure procession
racial relation sagacious secession special station
thresh translation = 43

3.18

ail bail bale bell belly belt celery cell cellar
compel daily dale delicate develop development elbow*
elder elder-berry Elgin, Pl.N. elm else expel fail
failure* fell, v. felt, n. flail frail gale hail
health hell helm help intelligent jealous knell, n.
lapel mail melon melt nail pail pale rail rail-
way rebel rebellion relative sail sailor sale
seldom selfish sell shelf* shelter skeleton* smell
snail stealth tail tale telephone tell trail velvet
welt yellow* = 69

3.19

aerial affair air American area* bare bear (animal)
berry beware care careful* cherry compare dairy
declare error experiment fair fairy fare ferry flair
hair hare heir herring Mary merit merry pair parents
prayer precarious prepare rare repair scarce(ly) share

3.19 ctd.

UI 3.19

sheriff* sherry snare spare square stairs stare
temerity terrible their there various vary verify
very = 53

3.20

day decay delay fray gay gray jay lay may neigh
obey play pray ray say slay spray stay, v. stray
they tray = 21

Section 4: SSE, M1 /a/

4.1

absent absolute cab cabbage* dab gab gabble grab
habit rabbit rabble, v. shabby slab stab
squabble = 15

4.2

academy add addict adequate admiral adult advocate
bad badge exaggerate caddie gadget haddock* inadequate
lad mad magistrate pad radish sad tragedy tragic
audible auditor fraud Maud swaddle = 27

4.3

agony bag baggage drag, v. fag, n. flag fragment
gag, n.v. hag jag lag, v. laggard magazine maggot, n.

4.3 ctd.

UI 4.3

nag, n.v. rag shaggy snag stag stagger swagger
tag wag wagon

August

= 25

4.4

adapt capital captain chap chapter clap collapse
evaporate flap happen happiness happy knap, v.
lap, n.v. nap map perhaps rap rapid slap snap
strap tap trap

pauper swap

= 26

4.5

at attach attic bat batch battery battle cat catch
catechism cattle chat congratulate democratic dispatch
dogmatic fanatic fat fatten flatter gnat hat hatch
latter mat match pat patch pattern rat ratify
rattle, v. rheumatic satellite scatter shatter snatch
spatter static stature tatter tattle that tomato*

autograph squat watch what

= 48

4.6

accent access accident accurate* act* action
attractive actual(ly) back backward black, a. black-
smith contractor exact(ly)* fact* factory flax
inaccurate lack pack packet practical(ly)* practice

4.6 ctd.

UI 4.6

racket relax shackle slack smack stack tact tax
taxi tobacco* tract* vernacular wax

baulk chalk hawk talk walk

= 41

4.7

alms* am ample balm bramble* calm camp clamber*
cram cramp dram example gammon grammar ham hammer
hamper jam lamb lamp pram ramble ramp salmon Sam
sample sham slam stammer stamp tram trample drama
psalm

swamp

= 35

4.8

abandon advance advantage Andrew* animal answer ant
anthem Atlantic aunt ban banana* band bandage bandit*
brand can Canada cancel cancer candidate candle*
cannon chance chant command commandment Dan dance
demand explanatory fan fancy flannel* France frantic
glance grand grant hand handle* handy Hans Janet
land man manage manse mansion mantelpiece pan panel
pant plan plant sand sandy scandal scanty stand*
standard tanner understand

awn brawn daunt dawn fawn jaundice launch laundry
paunch pawn swan wander want yawn

= 77

4.9

UI 4.9

anchor anger angle ankle anxious bang bank bank-
rupt* blank blanket crank dangle flank frank gang
gangster hanker language rank sanctuary slang
strangle tank = 23

4.10

avenue average havoc palaver = 4

4.12

as hazard plaza spasm
cause pause = 6

4.14

baffle, v. café calf chaff craft daft draff gaffer
giraffe graphic half raft saffron scaffold shaft
staff traffic
awful* lawful* = 19

4.15

bath catholic lath maths
author wrath = 6

4.16

asp ass assets bask basket bastard blast brass

4.16 ctd.

UI 4.16

caste castle drastic fantastic fast flask gas
gasp grasp lass mass massacre pass passage
passenger past placid plastic rascal raspberry
sarcastic spasm tacit task vast

sauce saucer sausage

= 36

4.17

ashlar cash clash, v. crash fashion flash gash
gnash mash, n. moustache passion(ate) rash, a. sash
slash smash splash trash

caution

= 18

4.18

balance ballad ballot canal challenge falderal
gallant gallery gallon gallop gallows* malice pal
salad salary salvage scalp (scull) tallow* valley
valve

altar alter always awl caller, n. brawl crawl
equality gall hall halt haul Paul quality scrawl
shawl sprawl squalid swallow* tall vault wallop
walnut

= 43

4.19

architect are argue* argument* ark art artful bar

4.19 ctd.

UI 4.19

barber bargain barge bark barley barn barrel
barren barrister barrow* bartender barter car
carcase cargo* carrot carve chart charter
comparison dark darkness far farthing* garbage
garret garrison hard(ly) hardy harness harrow*
harsh jar lard marble margin mark marrow* mart
martin marvel marvellous* parasite* park remark
sardine scar scarlet shard sparse star tar
target tarnish

quarrel quart quarter reward war ward warden
wardrobe warm wart wharf

= 73

4.20

awe claw draw flaw gnaw jaw law paw raw
saw, n.v. spa

= 11

Section 5: SSE, M1 /△/

5.1

club cub cupboard grub hub pub public publish
rub rubber scrub, n.v. shrub stubborn tub

= 14

5.2

bud budge cuddle drudge grudge judge mud muddle
shudder smudge study sudden(ly)

= 12

5.3UI 5.3

hug mug pug "puggy" rug shrug smug struggle
ugly = 9

5.4

abrupt corrupt cup interrupt supper up upper
uproar = 8

5.5

butter button crutch cut Dutch glutton hut mutter
mutton rut scuttle shutter sputter subtle
utter(ance) = 15

5.6

bucket chuckle instruction introduction luck muck
pluck, v. production reduction tuck, v.(beat drum)
tuck, n.(in a garment) = 11

5.7

become bump chum clumsy come comfort comfortable
company crumb drum dumb dump hum humble* humdrum
lump mump numb number* plumb(er) plump presumption
pump rum rump rumple some sometimes something* sum
trump trumpet tummy tumble* tumbler* umpire = 36

5.8

blunt brunt bunch bundle crunch dun(-coloured) front

5.8 ctd.

UI 5.8

fun funnel funny grunt gun hunch hundred* hunt
London lunch Monday money month munch nun plunder
pun punch punish shunt son sponge, v. sun Sunday
sunshine thunder* ton = 34

5.9

bungle bunker chunk dung function hunger hungry
junk junket, v. mongrel monk plunk, v. monkey
skunk tongue trunk uncle young = 18

5.10

above cover discover discovery glove government
lovely recover = 8

5.11

southern* = 1

5.12

buzzard muzzle puzzle = 3

5.14

bluff buffer cuff fluff gruff huff muffler puff
ruffled scuffle snuff snuffle stuff stuffy suffer
tuft = 16

5.15UI 5.15

Guthrie, Pers.N.

= 1

5.16

bus bust bustle cluster crust custard* custom
customer discuss disgust dust(y) fustian husband
hustle lust muscle mussel mustard muster trust
tusk

= 21

5.17

blush brush crush flush hush mushroom plush, n.
rush, v. usher, n.

= 9

5.18

agriculture bulb colour cultivate culture(d) dull
gullet gully, n. hulk hull (of boat) indulge(nt)
insult lullaby multitude pulp pulse result
sculpture skull sulk sullen ulcer vulgar

= 23

5.19

borough* courage currant*, n. current discourage
encourage flourish furrow* hurricane hurry nourish
thorough* turret worry

= 14

6.1

bob, n.v. bobbin cobble cobbler cobweb globe gobble
hobble hobby job lob lobster mob noble obstinate
obvious October problem rob robe robin sober
throb = 23

6.2

cod code custodian dodge explode goad god godsend
modest moderate model modify nod odd odious plod
pod product road rod rce-deer soda* toddle = 23

6.3

bog bogle brogue cog flog fog goggle log rogue = 9

6.4

adopt(ion) chops, n. cope copy dope hope hops, n.
hop-scotch monopolize "mop", v. mope open popular
proper(ly) property scope, n. shop slope topple
tropic = 20

6.5

afloat allotment approach blot boat bottle bottom
clot coach coat cot cottage cotton devote dot
float goat knot lot moat motor note notice plot
poach potter promote Protestant rot rotten Scotland

6.5 ctd.UI 6.5

shot, n. throat total trot vote

= 36

6.6

block bloke box broker chocolate choke cloak clock

cock cockle cocoa coconut* coke croak dock doctor

document flock focus fox frock hockey inoculated*

joke knock lock locket occupy ox(en) pocket rock

shock soak sock stock stocking stoke token yoke = 39

6.7

bomb comedy comet comic commerce common comparable

complicated dominate economic loam moment pomp

pompous prominent promise roam Roman Rome vomit = 20

6.8

astonish beyond* bonus concert conduct, n. confidence

confident conflict, n. conscience conscious continent

contract, n. contrary, n. contrast, n. correspondent

don, n. drone fond fondle groan honour honest

John Johnny monarch monastery monument nonsense on

only pneumonia* ponderous responsible scone throne

tone yonder zone = 38

6.10

behave clover cove drove, n. grove grovel hovel

6.10 ctd.

UI 6.10

proverb province provost rove rover stove = 13

6.12

close, v. composer cosy hose impose nose oppose
pose proposal propose rose, n. suppose = 12

6.13

enclosure explosion = 2

6.14

coffee coffin cough croft goffer loaf loft offer
office officer often profit prophet = 13

6.15

broth moth wroth = 3

6.16

across blossom boast boss close (a street) close, a.
coast cost costume cross curiosity deposit dross
foster frost gospel gossip grocer hospital host
impossible jostle loss moss possible post poster
roast toast toss = 30

6.17

emotion gosh motion notion ocean social = 6

6.18UI 6.18

abolish bold coal cold collar college collie
colony control demolish diabolical* doll dollar
foal fold follow* folly goal hole holiday holly
holy intolerable involve jolt knowledge molar mole
molten olive pole polish politics resolve revolt
revolver scholar scold scroll tolerant toll up-
holster volume = 43

6.19

according authority before* boar border bore, v.
borrow* core cork corn corner coroner distort
divorce door enormous for forage force foreign
forest foremost* fork form formal Forth forth
fortnight* fortune* forty fourteen fourth George
glory gorgeous hoard horn horrible horror horse
importance important inform moral morning mort-
gage normal north northern oar orange order
ordinary organize perform porch pork port portion
proportion report resource(ful) score shore, n.
short snore sorrow* sorry sort source sport store
storm story support sword thorn torch = 78

6.20

ago doe dough, n. flow, v. show slow though* throw = 8

7.1

tube rhubarb = 2

7.2

brood conclude could exclude feud food huge
include intrude poodle prudent rude seclude shrewd
student = 15

7.3

sugar = 1

7.4

cooper coupon croup droop group hoop loop pupil
snoop soup stupor swoop troop = 13

7.5

beautiful beauty brutal dispute duty future hoot
loot lute mutilate pewter route salute tutor = 14

7.6

brook cook duke fluke (flounder) look Luke rebuke*
rook, n. = 8

7.7

assume* bloom boom broom, n.(brush) consume* doom

7.7 ctd.

UI 7.7

fume gloom human humour room rumour = 12

7.8

balloon community fluent* opportunity puny uniform
union unit unity = 9

7.10

approve improve move movement prove remove reprove = 7

7.12

booze bosom fuse infuse news* Tuesday = 6

7.13

rouge = 1

7.14

reproof rueful = 2

7.15

booth youth = 2

7.16

boost excuse, n. introduce induce juice newspaper
noose nuisance* produce, v. puss reduce roost
seduce truce = 14

7.17UI 7.17

crucial* douche institution revolution = 4

7.18

cruel fuel gruel* jewel rule, v. tool tulip
woollen = 8

7.19

brewer cure during Europe furious fury pure purify
tour your = 10

7.20

blue clue crew dew due few fue glue hew Hugh
Jew new pew pursue rue screw shoo spew stew
through true view woo zoo = 24

Section 8: SSE, M1 /æ/ or /ɛɪ/8.1

Bible bribe gibe liable* libel reliable* tribal
tribe = 8

8.2

aside beside bide bridal bride bridle chide cider
decide divide Friday guide hide hygiene idle idol
idolize inside pride provide reside ride side slide
tidal tide tidy wide = 28

8.3UI 8.3

diagram*

= 1

8.4

diaper* pipe ripe snipe tripe typist wipe

= 7

8.5bite diet* excite polite quite recital riot* rite
site society spite vital white write(r)

= 14

8.6

dike dislike hike like(ly) spike

= 5

8.7climate crime diamond* lime rhyme slimy sublime
time thyme

= 9

8.8brine Bryan* combine, v. confine, v. China client*
decline design dine final fine giant* kind line
lion* mind mine(r) nine pine, v. pint resign Rhine
science shine, v. sign sinus tiny whine wine Zion* = 308.10alive arrive deprive derive dive drive five hive
ivy private revive rival survive

= 13

8.12UI 8.12

advise assize despise disguise Isaac prize rise
size surprise = 9

8.14

knife life rife rifle wife = 5

8.16

advice bias* Christ ice lice mice nice price rice
slice twice vice = 12

8.18

bile dial* dialect* file island mild mile pile
pilot silence silent smile style trial* vile violet*
while wild wily = 19

8.19

admire Biro byre choir, n. desire diary* entire, adj.
environment fiery fire hire inquire inspire Irish
Myer, Pers.N. quire require retire siren spire
tiring tire(d) wire = 23

8.20

apply aye (yes) buy by cry deny dye fry July
lie (recline) pie rely reply rye shy spy supply
tie try why = 20

Section 9: SSE, M1 /AZL/

UI 9.1

9.1

cowboy

= 1

9.2

shroud

= 1

9.5

gout, n. scout tout

= 3

9.8

bounce, v. bounty denounce flounce, n. mound
pound (money) rowan

= 7

9.16

grouse, n.

= 1

9.18

fowl growl, v. howl prowl, v. vowel*

= 5

9.20

bough thou vow

= 3

Section 10: SSE, M1 /CH/

10.2

void

= 1

<u>10.3</u>	<u>UI 10.3</u>
Doig, Pers.N.	= 1
<u>10.5</u>	
exploit	= 1
<u>10.8</u>	
anoint	= 1
<u>10.16</u>	
cloister, n. moisture rejoice	= 3
<u>10.18</u>	
foil soil, v. toilet	= 3
<u>10.19</u>	
Moir, Pers.N.	= 1
<u>10.20</u>	
annoy boy destroy employ enjoy joy toy	= 7

Section 11: SSE, M1 /³/*

<u>11.19</u>
absurd alert bird birth blurt, v. burden burn
burst certain(ly) certify* circle circus clergy
colonel commercial concern curb curdle, v. curds

curse curtain curtsy curve deserve deter determine
dirty disturb early emerge exert(ion) ferment, n.
fervent fir firm first Firth flirt fur furnish
furniture germ German Germany girdle girl hearse
her herb* herd hermitage hurt infirmary insert
inter, v. journal journey kerb learn lurk merchant
merger mirth murder murderous murmur nerve nervous
nurse observe occur pearl perfectly perfume per-
manent person(al) prefer preserve purchase purple
purpose purr purge purse refer rehearse research
reserve return reverse search sermon serpent
servant serve service shirt skirt splurge stern
Stirling sturdy surf surface surge surgeon third
thirst thirteen thirty Thursday turkey turn
universal university urge urgent verb verdict
vermin verse virgin virtue word work(er) world
worm worship worthy yearn = 130

b) Distributional Differences

Introductory Remarks

I include here all words which do not show the regular correspondences between SSE and M1 as outlined in Chapter II.

The code¹⁾ has three digits: the first one refers to the stressed M1 vowel, the second to the corresponding SSE vowel, the last one to the post-tonic M1 consonant.

e.g. 1.2.1: entries have M1 stressed vowel /i/,
SSE stressed vowel /ɪ/,
post-tonic consonant /b/.

If reference is made to a correspondence of stressed vowels only without regard to post-tonic consonants DD is prefixed to the code now containing only two digits.

e.g. DD 3.1: All sections in which M1 /e, ε/
corresponds to SSE /i/.

Note that entries are arranged as to how they appear in the dialect and in numerical order as determined by their code-numbers.²⁾

1) For the meaning of the figures in the code in this section see chapter II or under Abbreviations.

2) First come all words in which the dialect has vowel no. 1 /i/: Section 1. Within this section grouping is determined by the code number of the SSE vowel which corresponds to /i/. In numerical order we find 1.2. , 1.3. , etc. Each of these are subgrouped as to the code number of the post-tonic consonant: 1.2.1, 1.2.2 ..., 1.3.1, 1.3.2 ..., etc. Then follows Section 2, dialect vowel no. 2 /ɪ/ and so forth.

In most cases the position of the stressed syllable and the post-tonic consonant are the same in SSE; where this is not the case, the entry has a minus-sign on the left-hand margin¹⁾.

e.g. - 1.2.7 skirmish* n.:

the dialect is /'skrimɪ̯/ (post-tonic consonant no. 7 /m/) against SSE /'skɪrmɪ̯/.

As pointed out before, frequent use should be made of the Index for a transcription of the entries, as I can only deal with one distributional difference at a time. The asterisk (*) is meant to draw special attention to the Index.

It may often be useful to make a comparison between items in a subsection of distributional differences and the corresponding items in the list of UI.

e.g. compare 1.2.1 with UI 2.1.

The typical subsection consists of (1) a Comparative Table [CT] which contains Comparative Items [CI]. This is followed by up to four types of (2) Notes.

(1) The Comparative Table [CT]

The CT consists of seven columns:

cf. 1.2.1

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>
	E	M	S	D	SSE	E*
deliberate	3	3	x	b	g	-

col. 1: lexical entry for a CI

1) I have not done this for bracketed items.

col. 2 - 4: gives information on the dialect in Edinburgh [E], Musselburgh [M] and Stow [S].

3 in any of these columns means that the informant concerned produced the dialect form without modification. (In the example: E and M)

2 means that the informant uses the dialect only in a stated context which I have specified in Note type III (see below).

1 means that the dialect form is not used by the informant himself, but that he has heard it used in the district by older or other native speakers.

x means that the informant uses SSE. (In the example: S)

n.k. means not known.

n.u. means not used.

If a dialect form other than the one specified is used, I have given the particular code for cross-reference.

Cf. 1.2.4

	E	M	S	D	SSE	E*
whip v.	3	3	5.2.4	b	-	-

col. 5 - 6: gives a summary about the three preceding vernaculars as to whether they use dialect (col. 5) or SSE (col. 6).

Conventions:

a = E + M + S
b = E + M
c = E + S
d = M + S
e = E

ctd.

col. 5 - 6 ctd.

f = M
g = S

e.g. 1.2.2

	E	M	S	D	SSE	E*
rigid	x	3	3	d	e	-

the dialect (D) is used by M + S = d

SSE is used by E = e

1.2.3

	E	M	S	D	SSE	E*
spigot* n.	3	n.k.	x	e	g	+

the dialect (D) is used by E = e

SSE is used by S = g

If there is no SSE entry or (x) I have used
a dash (-) in col. 6.

Cf. whip v. quoted above, p. 98 .

col. 7:

contains information about potential dialect
of informant E* but only indicates

+ = possible

- = never heard

(+) = heard from other people.

[]

Square brackets round a complete entry in a
CT have been used for inflectional forms of
verbs which have not been counted in my
statistics and have no code in the Index.

e.g. 1.3.8

	E	M	S	D	SSE	E*
[meant p.t., p.p.]	3	3	3	a	-	+

ctd.

col. 7 ctd.

Dialect used by E, M, S	=	a
no SSE form used	=	-
E* possible	=	+

(2) Notes at the bottom of the CT are of four types: I - IV.

Type I gives further items in which the dialect is used in any one or two of E, M, or S, i.e. no full comparative information is available or should be checked again for the place or places not mentioned. In addition information is given for E*, E**, E₂, M₂, S₂. Only dialect is indicated.

Together with the CI these items form the group of all Changed Items [Ch I]

Type II Here I have noted information from written sources for Midlothian which I have not been able to get confirmed by my informants. The entries are put in square brackets (cf. Abbreviations).

Type III provides the context for CI marked "2", (see above) in an orthographic version of the dialect.

Type IV gives further information like cross-references or general remarks on the particular subsection.

Section 1: M1 /i/

1.2.1 M1 /i/ + /b/: SSE /I/

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
deliberate	3	3	x	b g	-
distribute*	x	3	x	f c	-
liberal (generous)	3	3	3	a -	-
nibble	x	3	x	f c	-
squib (fireworks)	3	3	3	a -	-

Note also:

I. - caliber*	EM 3
contribute*	M 3
fib	E 3
gibbet	EM 3
"squib"	EM 3
(obnoxious person)	

1.2.2 M1 /i/ + /d/: SSE /I/

considerable	x	3	x	f c	-
fidget*	n.u.	3	x	f g	-
hideous*	3	3	3	a -	-
idiot*	3	3	3	a -	-
individual*	3	3	x	b g	-
original	3	3	x	b g	-
religion	3	3	3	a -	-
religious	3	3	3	a -	-
rigid	x	3	3	d e	-
twiddle	3	3	3	a -	-

1.2.2 ctd.

1.2.2 ctd.DD 1.2.2

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
widow*	3	3	x	b g	-

Note also:

I.	considerate*	EM 3
	fidgety*	E 3

1.2.3 M1 /i/ + /g/: SSE /I/

- cigar*	3	x	x	e d	-
- cigarette*	3	x	x	e d	+
fig	3	3	x	b g	-
figure	3	3	3	a -	-
giggle	3	3	3	a -	-
gig	1	3	3	a -	-
gigot	3	3	3	a -	+
jig v., n. (dance)	3	3	3	a -	-
niggard*	3	3	x	b g	-
nigger	3	3	x	b g	+
rig v. (rig up)	3	3	3	a -	-
signal	x	3	x	f c	+
signature*	x	3	x	f c	+
snigger v.	3	3	x	b g	-
spigot* n.	3	n.k.	x	e g	+
vigorous*	x	3	3	d e	-
wig	3	3	x	b g	-

1.2.3 ctd.

1.2.3 ctd.DD 1.2.3Note also:

I. jiggle v. EM 3
 rigorous* M 3

IV. fig. cf. also 3.2.3

1.2.4 M1 /i/ + /p/: SSE /ɪ/

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
drip v.	3	3	3	a -	+
dripping* n.	3	3	3	a -	+
hypocrite*	3	3	x	b g	+
rip v.	3	3	x	b g	-
triple	3	3	1	a -	-
- turnip*	3	3	3	a -	+
typical	3	3	x	b g	(+)
whip v.	3	3	5.2.4	b -	-

1.2.5 M1 /i/ + /t/: SSE /ɪ/

critic	3	3	x	b g	-
fritter	x	3	x	f c	-
"glitter"*	3	3	n.u.	b -	-
legitimate	3	3	x	b g	-
litter (rubbish)	x	3	x	f c	-
niche	3	3	n.u.	b -	-
pity v., n.	3	3	3	a -	+
spiritual*	x	3	x	f c	-
spit n. (for roasting)	x	3	x	f c	-

1.2.5 ctd.

1.2.5 ctd.DD 1.2.5

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
split v.	3	3	3	a -	-
stitch* v. cf. "stick"	3	3	3	a -	-

Note also:

I. breeching*	E 3
- forfeit* v.	E 3
- surfeit* n.	E 3

1.2.6 M1 /ɪ/ + /k/: SSE /ɪ/

particular*	3	3	3	a -	-
ridiculous*	3	3	3	a -	-
sick	3	3	3	a -	+
"stick" (shut, fasten)	3	3	3	a -	-
wick (candle -)	3	3	3	a -	-

Note also:

I. conspicuous*	EM 3
nicotine*	M 3

1.2.7 M1 /ɪ/ + /m/: SSE /ɪ/

- chemise*	3	3	3	a -	-
criminal	x	3	x	f c	(+)
eliminate	3	x	x	e d	(+)
image	x	3	x	f c	-
limit n.	x	3	x	f c	-
limousine*	x	3	x	f c	-
mimic	x	3	x	f c	-

1.2.7 ctd.

1.2.7 ctd.

DD 1.2.7

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
similar*	3	3	3	a -	-
- skirmish* n.	3	3	x	b g	-
stimulate	3	3	x	b g	-
timid*	3	3	x	b g	-
women	3	3	3	a -	-

1.2.8 M1 / i/ + /n/: SSE /ɪ/

cinnamon	3	3	3	a -	-
continue*	3	3	3	a -	-
cringe	3	3	3	a -	-
crinoline	x	3	3	d e	-
finish v.	3	3	3	a -	+
fringe n.	3	3	3	a -	-
[given* p.p.	3	3	3	a -	-]
guinea	3	3	3	a -	-
mineral	1	3	3	a -	-
mingy	3.2.8	n.k.	3	g -	-
minimum	3	3	x	b g	-
minister	3	1	x	b g	+
minute* n.	3	3	3	a -	+
opinion	3	3	3	a -	+
"pin"*	3	3	3	a -	+
pinafore*	3	3	3	a -	+
pinion*	3	3	3	a -	-

1.2.8 ctd.

1.2.8 ctd.DD 1.2.8

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
pinnacle	3	3	3	a -	-
swinge v.	1	n.k.	n.k.	e -	-
syringe	3	3	3	a -	-

Note also:

I. finicky	E 1, M 3
- finesse*	EM 3
friendship	E 3
- jasmine*	E 3
linament	E 3

1.2.9 M1 /i/ + /ɨ/: SSE /ɪ/

king	3	3	x	b g	-
------	---	---	---	-----	---

Note also:

I. kingdom	E 3
------------	-----

1.2.10 M1 /i/ + /v/: SSE /ɪ/

- active*	3	uV 1.2	x	e d	-
civil	3	3	3	a -	-
equivalent*	x	3	x	f c	-
frivolous*	3	3	x	b g	-
live v.	1	2	1	a -	-
- mischievous*	3	3	3	a -	+
pivot	x	3	x	f c	-
- positive*	x	u.V.1.2	3	g e	-
privilege*	3	3	x	b g	-
quiver	x	3	n.u.	f e	-

1.2.10 ctd.

1.2.10 ctd.

DD 1.2.10

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
rivet* v. (e.g. a bolt)	3	n.k.	n.k.	e -	-
sieve	3	3	3	a -	+
snivel	3	3	3	a -	-
swivel	3	3	3	a -	-
trivial	3	3	x	b g	-

Note also:

I.	civic	EM 3
	dividend*	EM 3
	livery	E 3
	rivet n.	M 3

III. live: M only in "he is aye leevin' yet" (he is still
alive)

1.2.12 M1 /ɪ/ + /z/: SSE /ɪ/

drizzle	1	3	3	a -	-
his	3	3	x	b g	+
Isabell, Pers.N.	3	3	x	b g	-
miserable*	3	3	x	b g	-
misery	3	3	3	a -	+
visible	x	3	3	d e	-
visit	3	3	3	a -	+
visitor	3	3	3	a -	+

Note also:

I.	physic	E 3
	physics	E 3
-	practise* v.	M 3
	prison(er)	E 1
	sizzle	M 3

IV. drizzle cf. also 9.2.12

1.2.13 M1 /1/ + /3/: SSE /1/DD 1.2.13

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
decision	3	3	3	a -	+
division	3	3	3	a -	-
provision	3	3	3	a -	-
vision	3	3	x	b g	+

Note also:

I. revision E 3

1.2.14 M1 /i/ + /f/: SSE /1/

certificate	x	3	3	d e	+
jiffy	x	3	x	f c	-
magnificent	3	3	x	b g	-
- mischief*	uV 1.2	3	3	d -	-
significant	x	3	x	f c	+
syphilis*	3	3	3	a -	+

1.2.16 M1 /i/ + /s/: SSE /1/

solicitor*	3	3	3	a -	-
- deficit*	3	x	x	e d	-

1.2.17 M1 /i/ + /j/: SSE /1/

addition	3	3	x	b g	-
admission	x	3	x	f c	-
ambition	3	3	x	b g	-
ambitious	3	3	x	b g	-

1.2.17 ctd.

1.2.17 ctd.

DD 1.2.17

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
ammunition	3	3	x	b g	-
artificial	3	3	3	a -	+
bishop	x	3	x	f c	-
competition	3	3	3	a -	+
condition	3	3	3	a -	-
definition	x	3	x	f c	+
delicious*	3	3	x	b g	(+)
demolition	3	3	x	b g	-
edition	3	3	x	b g	-
efficient	3	3	3	a -	-
exhibition	3	3	3	a -	-
malicious*	3	3	x	b g	+
militia	3	3	3	a -	-
official*	3	3	x	b g	+
partition	3	3	3	a -	-
permission	x	3	x	f c	-
petition	3	3	3	a -	+
physician*	3	3	3	a -	-
position	3	3	3	a -	-
proposition	3	3	x	b g	-
repetition*	3	3	3	a -	-
sufficient	3	3	3	a -	-
superstition	3	3	3	a -	+
suspicious	3	3	3	a -	-

1.2.17 ctd.

1.2.17 ctd.DD 1.2.17

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
swish n. (noise of birch)	1	3	3	a -	-
tradition	3	3	3	a -	+
vicious	3	3	3	a -	+

Note also:

I. expedition EM 3
 optician EM 3

IV. This section includes a very high number of words ending in /ɪʃən/. Only 3 words of this type were rejected by EMS. cf. UI 2.17.

1.2.18 M1 /i/ + /l/: SSE /ɪ/

ability	x	3	x	f c	-
build v.	1	3	x	b g	-
cylinder (part of engine)	3	3	3	a -	-
drill	3	3	3	a -	-
facilities	3	3	x	b g	-
familiar*	3	3	x	b g	-
gill*	x	n.k.	3	g e	-
hostility	3	3	x	b g	-
pavilion	3	x	x	e d	+
pill	3	3	3	a -	-
skill	3	3	3	a -	-
swill	3	3	n.u.	b -	-
twill v., n.	3	3	3	a -	-
vanilla	x	3	x	f c	-

1.2.18 ctd.

1.2.18 ctd.DD 1.2.18

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
William*, Pers.N.	3	3	n.u.	b -	-

Note also:

IV. William*, Pers.N.: S only in the form "Willie".
cf. DD 5.2.18

In a number of instances S prefers SSE forms.

1.2.19 M1 /i/ + /r/: SSE /ɪ/

"delirious"*	3	3	n.u.	b -	-
miracle	x	3	x	f c	-
spirits	3	3	3	a -	-
spiritual*	x	3	x	f c	-
stirrups	3	3	x	b g	-
syrup	3	3	3	a -	-

Note also:

I. pyramid* M 3

1.2.20 M1 /i/ in open syllable: SSE /ɪ/

- committee*	3	3	x	b g	-
--------------	---	---	---	-----	---

1.3.1 M1 /i/ + /b/: SSE /e,ɛ/

pebble	1	x	x	e d	-
neighbour	3	3	3	a -	+

1.3.2 M1 /i/ + /d/: SSE /e,ε/DD 1.3.2

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
ahead	3	3	3	a -	-
bread	3	3	3	a -	+
breadth*	3	3	3	a -	+
dead	3	3	3	a -	+
dread v.	3	3	3	a -	+
head	3	3	3	a -	+
impediment	x	3	3	d e	+
instead*	3	3	3	a -	+
lead n. (metal)	3	3	3	a -	+
legend*	3	3	3	a -	-
spread v.	x	x	3	g b	+
steading*	3	3	3	a -	(+)
steady	x	x	3	g b	+
thread	3	3	3	a -	-

Note also:

- I. dreadful* M 3
 sediment EM 3
- II. Wt.em.sc. [stead]

1.3.3 M1 /i/ + /g/: SSE /e,ε/Note:

- I. MacGregor, Pers.N. S 3

1.3.4 M1 /i/ + /p/: SSE /e,ε/

depth	x	3	x	f c	-
-------	---	---	---	-----	---

1.3.4 ctd.

1.3.4 ctd.DD 1.3.4

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
staple (bent rod)	x	3	3	d e	-
tepid*	3	3	2.3.1	b -	-

1.3.5 M1 /i/ + /t/: SSE /e,ε/

diabetic*	3	3	x	b g	+
fret v.	x	3	x	f c	-
jet(-black)	x	3	x	f c	-
petrol	x	3	x	f c	-
stretch v.	3	3	3	a -	+
sweat n., v.	3	3	3	a -	-
vet (veterinary surgeon)	3	3	3	a -	-
wet a.	3	3	4.3.5	b -	-

Note also:

I. fetish M 3
veteran M 3

II. Ce [get]

1.3.6 M1 /i/ + /k/: SSE /e,ε/

next*	1.3.16	3	2.3.6	f -	-
-------	--------	---	-------	-----	---

1.3.7 M1 /i/ + /m/: SSE /e,ε/

cemetery*	3	3	3	a -	-
chemist	1	x	x	e d	-
dilemma*	1	x	n.u.	e f	-

1.3.7 ctd.

1.3.7 ctd.

DD 1.3.7

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
epidemic	3	3	x	b g	+
Fleming*, Pers.N.	3	3	3	a -	-
lemon	3	3	x	b g	+
lemonade	3	3	3	a -	+
remedy	x	3	x	f c	-
sempstress	3	3	n.u.	b -	-

Note also:

I.	blemish	EM 3
	chemistry	E 1
	Flemington*, Pl.N.	S 3
	Flemish	EM 3

1.3.8 M1 /i/ + /n/: SSE /e,ε/

chain	x	x	3	g b	-
complain	1	3	3	a -	-
den	1	x	x	e d	-
friend	3	3	3	a -	+
friendly	3	3	3	a -	+
[meant p.t.]	3	3	3	a -	+]]
ordain	3	3	x	b g	-
reins n.	8.3.8	x	3	g f	-
strain v. (sprain)	x	3	3	d e	-
venom	x	3	n.u.	f e	-
(window)pane	x	x	3	g b	-

1.3.8 ctd.

1.3.8 ctd.DD 1.3.8Note also:

I.	change	E*
	Ferryden, Pl.N.	M 3
	lenity	EM 3
	plenish	M 3
	serenity	EM 3
	zenith	M 3

1.3.10 M1 /i/ + /v/: SSE /e,ε/

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
Ben Nevis, F.N.	3	x	x	e d	-
- deafen*	3	3	3	a -	-
devil*	3	1.3.18	1.3.18	e -	+
eleven	3	3	3	a -	+
seven	3	3	3	a -	+
seventeen	3	3	3	a -	+
seventy	3	3	3	a -	+

Note also:

- I. crevice EM 3
 II. Ce [heaven]

1.3.12 M1 /i/ + /z/: SSE /e,ε/

blaze n., v.	3	3	3	a -	+
pleasant	1	3	3	a -	+

Note also:

- I. Pleasance (Edinburgh street) E 3

1.3.13 M1 /i/ + /ɜ/: SSE /e,ɛ/

DD 1.3.13

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
leisure	3	3	3	a -	+
pleasure	3	3	3	a -	+

1.3.14 M1 /i/ + /f/: SSE /e,ɛ/

deaf	3	3	3	a -	+
deafen*	3	3	3	a -	+
heifer	3	x	n.u.	e f	-

1.3.15 M1 /i/ + /θ/: SSE /e,ɛ/

- breadth*	1.3.2	3	1.3.2	f -	-
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Note also:

II. Wt. E, L [death]

1.3.16 M1 /i/ + /s/: SSE /e,ɛ/

arrest* v.	3	3	x	b g	-
breast	3	3	3	a -	+
digest*	x	3	x	f c	-
haste v.	2	2	x	b g	-
- next*	3	1.3.6	2.3.6	e -	-

Note also:

III. haste v.: EM only in "heestie!" (hurry up!)

1.3.17 M1 /i/ + /ʃ/: SSE /e,ɛ/

Note:

II. Ce [threshed* p.p.]

1.3.18 M1 /i/ + /1/: SSE /e, /DD 1.3.18

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
- devil*	3	3	3	a -	-
jelly	3	3	3	a -	+
shell v.	x	2	x	f c	-
well (intr.)	3	3	3	a -	+
well adv.	3	4.3.18	3	c -	+

Note also:

I. zealous M 3

III. shell, v.: M only in "sheell (the) mussels" (remove shells from mussels)

1.3.19 M1 /i/ + /r/: SSE /e,ε/

bear v.	3	3	3	a -	-
"errand" n.	n.k.	2	2	d -	-
hysterical	3	3	3	a -	-
mare	x	x	3	g b	-
pare	3	n.k.	x	e g	-
pear	3	3	3	a -	+
severity	3	3	3	a -	+
swear	3	3	3	a -	+
tare	x	n.k.	3	g e	-
tear v., n.	3	3	3	a -	+
wares	3	x	x	e d	-
wear v.	3	3	3	a -	+

1.3.19 ctd.

Note also:

I. - ever* M 3
sterile M 3

III. "errand" n.: MS only in: to do something "yins eerrand"
(for that special purpose)

1.3.20 M1 /i/ in open syllable: SSE /e,ɛ/

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
flay	3	x	x	e d	-
sway n.,v. (swing)	3	3	3	a -	+
weigh v.	3	3	3	a -	+

1.4.2 M1 /i/ + /d/: SSE /a,ɔ/Note:

II. Ce [abroad adv.]

1.4.4 M1 /i/ + /p/: SSE /a,ɔ/

napkin	3	3	3.4.4	b -	-
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1.4.5 M1 /i/ + /t/: SSE /a,ɔ/

- adze*	x	3	3	d e	-
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1.4.6 M1 /i/ + /k/: SSE /a,ɔ/Note:

II. Ce [thatch* v.]

1.4.8 M1 /i/ + /n/: SSE /a,ɔ/

DD 1.4.8

Note:

I. Cranshaws, Pl.N. S 3

1.4.17 M1 /i/ + /ʃ/: SSE /a,ɔ/

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
lash n.	n.k.	3	3	d -	-
lash v. (- the whip)	3	n.k.	n.k.	e -	-

1.4.19 M1 /i/ + /r/: SSE /a,ɔ/

Note:

II. Ce [barley*]

1.5.16 M1 /i/ + /s/: SSE /ʌ/

rustle v.	x	3	2.5.16	f e	-
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1.5.18 M1 /i/ + /l/: SSE /ʌ/

- shovel*	x	3	3	d e	-
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Note also:

IV. shovel cf. also 2.5.10

1.6.2 M1 /i/ + /d/: SSE /o/

- clothe*	3	3	3	a -	-
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Note also:

II. Ce [clothing*]

1.6.6 M1 /i/ + /k/: SSE /o/

DD 1.6.6

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
smoke	1	x	x	e d	-

1.6.8 M1 /i/ + /n/: SSE /o/

[flown, p.p. of fly	7.6.8	3	7.6.8	f -	+]]
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1.7.8 M1 /i/ + /n/: SSE /u/

croon v.	1	x	x	e d	-
funeral*	x	n.u.	3	g e	-
prune v.	x	3	2.7.8	f e	-

1.7.12 M1 /i/ + /z/: SSE /u/

"bruise" v. (press)	n.k.	n.k.	3	g -	-
bruise n.	x	3	2.7.12	f e	-

1.7.15 M1 /i/ + /θ/: SSE /u/

Note:

I. tooth M 3

1.7.18 M1 /i/ + /l/: SSE /u/

Note:

II. Ce [(finger-)stool]

1.7.20 M1 /i/ in open syllable: SSE /u/

you*	3	3	3	a -	-
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1.8.1 M1 /i/ + /b/: SSE /εI ,ae/

DD 1.8.1

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
library	1	3	x	b g	-

Note also:

I. fibre E 3

1.8.2 M1 /i/ + /d/: SSE /εI ,ae/

oblige	3	3	3	a -	+
spider	3	3	3	a -	+

1.8.3 M1 /i/ + /g/: SSE /εI ,ae/

tiger	3	3	3	a -	-
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1.8.4 M1 /i/ + /p/: SSE /εI ,ae/

stipend*	3	3	3	a -	-
type n.	3	x	x	e d	-
viper	3	3	x	b g	-

1.8.5 M1 /i/ + /t/: SSE /εI ,ae/

invite	x	3	3	d e	-
titled	x	3	x	f c	-

1.8.7 M1 /i/ + /m/: SSE /εI ,ae/

grime n.	1	3	x	b g	-
grimy	x	3	x	f c	-

1.8.8 M1 /i/ + /n/: SSE /ɛɪ ,ae/DD 1.8.8

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
china*	3	3	3	a -	+
semolina*	3	3	3	a -	+

Note also:

I. finance n. E 3

1.8.10 M1 /i/ + /v/: SSE /ɛɪ ,ae/

conniving a.	3	3	3	a -	+
rive*	3	n.u.	x	e g	+

1.8.11 M1 /i/ + /ɔ/: SSE /ɛɪ ,ae/

- eiderdown*	x	3	3	d e	-
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1.8.12 M1 /i/ + /z/: SSE /ɛɪ ,ae/

- advertize*	x	3	uV 2.8	f e	-
- baptize*	3	3	3	a -	-
- criticize*	3	3	x	b g	-
- "poverize"*	3	3	x	b g	-

Note also:

I. - mesmerize* M 3
 - scandalize* M 3

IV. All examples have the suffix "-ize, -ise" which is often stressed in SSE as well.

1.8.14 M1 /i/ + /f/: SSE /ɛɪ ,ae/

"cipher" (stupid person)	3	n.k.	3	c -	-
trifle n.	n.u.	3	x	f g	-

1.8.16 M1 /i/ + /s/: SSE /ɛɪ ,ae/DD 1.8.16

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
crisis	x	3	1	d e	+
license	1	1	1	a -	-
precise	3	x	x	e d	-

Note also:

I. entice	M 3
- excise* n.	M 3
- paralysis*	EM 3

1.8.18 M1 /i/ + /l/: SSE /ɛɪ ,ae/

"child"* (young man)	3	3	3	a -	-
Highlands	3	3	3	a -	+
- reconcile(d)*	uV 1.8	3	x	f g	-

1.8.19 M1 /i/ + /r/: SSE /ɛɪ ,ae/

briar*	3	3	3	a -	-
friar*	x	3	x	f c	-
liar*	3	3	3	a -	+

Note also:

I. "inquiring"*	E 3
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1.8.20 M1 /i/ in open syllable: SSE /ɛɪ ,ae/

die	3	3	3	a -	-
eye	3	3	3	a -	+
fly n., v.	3	3	3	a -	+
lie v., n. (tell lies; fib)	3	3	3	a -	+

1.8.20 ctd.

1.8.20 ctd.

DD 1.8.20

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
sky	1	x	x	e d	-
sly	3	x	x	e d	-
thigh	x	1	x	f c	-

Note also:

I. dry (thirsty) E 3

II. Ce [by, prep.]

Wt. E [high]

1.9.8 M1 /1/ + /n/: SSE /ʌu/

scrounge	3	7.9.8	x	e g	-
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1.10.12 M1 /1/ + /z/: SSE /oɪ/

- hoist*	8.10.16	8.10.16	3	g -	-
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1.10.16 M1 /1/ + /s/: SSE /oɪ/

joist	8.10.16	3	3	d -	+
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1.10.18 M1 /1/ + /l/: SSE /oɪ/

loyal	2.10.18	3	3	d -	-
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1.11.19 M1 /1/ + /r/: SSE /ɜ/

McPherson, Pers.N.	x	x	3	g b	-
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stir	3	3	3	a -	-
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Section 2: M1 /ɪ/

DD 2.1.2

2.1.2 M1 /ɪ/ + /d/: SSE /i/

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
bleed	3	3	3	a -	-

2.1.5 M1 /ɪ/ + /t/: SSE /i/

"beetle" (a tool)	x	x	3	g b	-
teat	3	3	3	a -	+

Note also:

I. seat E* +
Seathope*, Pl.N. S 3

2.1.6 M1 /ɪ/ + /k/: SSE /i/

"beaker" (wooden bowl)	3	x	3	c f	-
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2.1.8 M1 /ɪ/ + /n/: SSE /i/

Note:

I. Greenlaw*, Pl.N. S 3

2.1.10 M1 /ɪ/ + /v/: SSE /i/

fever	x	3	3	d e	-
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Note also:

II. Wt. L. [receive]

2.1.12 M1 /ɪ/ + /z/: SSE /i/DD 2.1.12

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
measles	x	3.1.12	3	g e	-

2.3.1 M1 /ɪ/ + /p/: SSE /e,ɛ/

- tepid*	1.3.4	1.3.4	3	g -	-
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2.3.2 M1 /ɪ/ + /d/: SSE /e,ɛ/

meddle	3	3	3	a -	-
red	3	3	x	b g	+
["waded"* p.p.	3	3	x	b g	-]

Note also:

- I. Legerwood, Pl.N. S 3
 Redford, Pl.N. EE* 3
- II. Ce [steading]
 Ce [wages]

2.3.4 M1 /ɪ/ + /p/: SSE /e,ɛ/

leper	x	3	x	f c	-
weapon	3	4.3.4	x	e g	-

Note also:

- I. - Redpath*, Pl.N. S 3
- II. Wt. L. [depth]
 Wt. L. [shepherd]

2.3.5 M1 /ɪ/ + /t/: SSE /e,ɛ/

gate*	x	3	x	f c	-
get	3	3	3	a -	+

2.3.5 ctd.

2.3.5 ctd.DD 2.3.5

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
["letten" p.t., p.p. of let	3	4.3.5	x	e g	-]
yet	3	x	x	e d	+

Note also:

- I. let E* 3
 II. Ce [Dalgetty*, Pl.N.]
 Ce [great]

2.3.6 M1 /r/ + /k/: SSE /e,ε /

next*	1.3.16	1.3.6	3	g -	+
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2.3.7 M1 /r/ + /m/: SSE /e,ε /

phlegm	3	3	3	a -	+
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Note also:

- I. cemetery E* +

2.3.8 M1 /r/ + /n/: SSE /e,ε /

again	x	x	3	g b	-
bench	3	x	x	e d	+
engine	3	3	3	a -	+
pencil	3	3	x	b g	+
rent (crack in a wall)	3	x	n.u.	e f	-
senna tea	x	3	3	d e	-
twenty	3	3	3	a -	+
wench	3	3	3	a -	-

2.3.8 ctd.

Note also:

I. many E* 3
wrench n. E 3

II. Wt.em.Sc. [friend]
Ce [pence]

2.3.10 M1 /ɪ/ + /v/: SSE /e,ɛ/

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
never	3	x	3	c f	+

Note also:

I. devil* E*E₂ 3
ever* E²E* 3
every E* 3
heaven ME* 3

IV. E* sometimes has a 4a - phoneme in ever, every (cf. p.⁴³).

2.3.11 M1 /ɪ/ + /ð/: SSE /e,ɛ/

altogether*	3	3	3	a -	+
together*	x	x	3	g b	+
whether	3	3	5.3.11	b -	+

2.3.12 M1 /ɪ/ + /z/: SSE /e,ɛ/

hazel	x	1	3	d e	-
present n.	x	x	3	g b	+

2.3.13 M1 /ɪ/ + /ʒ/: SSE /e,ɛ/

measure n.	x	3	3	d e	+
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2.3.14 M1 /ɪ/ + /f/: SSE /e,ɛ /

DD 2.3.14

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
"cleft" (fork of the leg)	3	n.u.	x	e g	-

2.3.15 M1 /ɪ/ + /θ/: SSE /e,ɛ /

Note:

II. Ce [breadth*]

2.3.16 M1 /ɪ/ + /a/: SSE /e,ɛ /

chest* (body)	3	3	3	a -	-
chest* (box)	3	3	3	a -	-
yesterday	3	3	x	b g	+

Note also:

I. bless E 3
question E* 3
wrestle E* 3
II. Ce [place]
Ce [yes]

2.3.18 M1 /ɪ/ + /l/: SSE /e,ɛ /

ale*	1	3	3	a -	-
felloe*	3	n.k.	3	c -	+

Note also:

I. felon E 3
felony E 3
II. Ce [shell v.]
Ce [whelk]

2.3.19 M1 /ɪ/ + /r/: SSE /e,ɛ /

DD 2.3.19

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
burial*	3	3	n.u.	b -	-
bury	3	3	3	a -	+
fairly	x	x	3	g b	-
Marion	3	x	3	c f	-

Note also:

II. Ce [ferrule*]

2.4.2 M1 /ɪ/ + /d/: SSE /a,ɔ /

Adam*, Pers.N.	x	x	3	g b	-
straddle	3	3	3	a -	-

2.4.4 M1 /ɪ/ + /p/: SSE /a,ɔ /

sapling	3	x	x	e d	-
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2.4.5 M1 /ɪ/ + /t/: SSE /a,ɔ /

chatter (with teeth)	3	3	3	a -	+
clatter (gossip, scandal)	x	3	x	f c	-
natter	x	3.4.5	3	g e	-

Note also:

II. Ce [Pathhead*, Pl.N.]

2.4.8 M1 /ɪ/ + /n/: SSE /a,ɔ /

[ran p.t.	3	3	x	b g	-]
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Note also: I. January* E* 3

2.4.9 M1 /ɪ/ + /ɪ/: SSE /a,ɔ /

DD 2.4.9

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
anglified a.	x	x	3	g b	-
hang	3.4.9	3	3	d -	+

2.4.10 M1 /ɪ/ + /v/: SSE /a,ɔ /

Note:

I. have M 3

2.4.11 M1 /ɪ/ + /ɔ/: SSE /a,ɔ /

father	3.4.11	3	3	d -	-
rather	3.4.11	3.4.11	3	g -	+

2.4.12 M1 /ɪ/ + /z/: SSE /a,ɔ /

[has	3	3	3	a -	+]]
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2.4.16 M1 /ɪ/ + /s/: SSE /a,ɔ /

cast* v.	x	3	x	f c	-
["casten"* p.t., p.p.	3	3	3	a -	-]
plaster n.	3.4.16	3.4.16	3	g -	-

Note also:

I. rasp n., v. E 3
(file)

2.4.17 M1 /ɪ/ + /ʃ/: SSE /a,ɔ /

[washed* p.p.	x	1	5.4.17	f e	-]
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2.4.19 M1 /r/ + /r/: SSE /a,ɔ/DD 2.4.19

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
Charlie	3.4.19	3.4.19	3	g -	-
department	3.4.19	3.4.19	3	g -	-
farm	3	3.4.19	3.4.19	e -	-
garter*	3.4.19	3.4.19	3	g -	-
Martinmas*	n.u.	3.4.19	3	g -	-
parcel	3	x	x	e d	-
parched	3	3.4.19	3.4.19	e -	-
parsley	3	3.4.19	x	e g	-
starch	3.4.19	3.4.19	3	g -	-

Note also:

II. Ce [starling]

IV. M has no dialect forms in this section. All entries have post-tonic /r/ followed by a consonant, many have an alternate M1 form (3.4.19).
S and, in some cases, E do not always seem to be aware of a difference between 2.4.19 and 3.4.19. These are borderline cases between primary and secondary features.

2.5.1 M1 /r/ + /b/: SSE /ʌ/

rubbish	3	x	x	e d	-
snub v.	3	3	3	a -	+
stubble	x	x	3	g b	-

Note also:

I. chubby M 3

2.5.2 M1 /r/ + /d/: SSE /ʌ/

blood	3	3	3	a -	-
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2.5.2 ctd.

2.5.2 ctd.DD 2.5.2

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
bloody	3	3	3	a -	-
cud	x	x	3	g b	-
flood n.	x	x	3	g b	-
huddle v.	1	3	3	a -	-
judgment	1	3	x	b g	-
nudge	3	3	x	b g	-
rudder	x	3	x	f c	-
"scud"	3	n.u.	3	c -	-

Note also:

- I. Duddingston*, Pl.N. E 1
- II. Ce [judge]
- IV. huddle v. cf. also DD 9.5.2

2.5.3 M1 /r/ + /g/: SSE /ʌ/

sluggard	x	x	3	g b	-
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Note also:

- I. Lugate*, Pl.N. S 3

2.5.4 M1 /r/ + /p/: SSE /ʌ/

couple v.	1	3	x	b g	-
rupture* n.	3	x	3	c f	-
tup (a ram)	n.k.	n.k.	3	g -	-
twopence	3	3	3	a -	-

2.5.5 M1 /ɪ/ + /t/: SSE /ʌ/DD 2.5.5

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
but	3	3	3	a -	+
Cuthill* Pl.N.	3	3	x	b g	-
flutter	3	3	3	a -	+
gutter n.	3	3	3	a -	-
nut	3	3	x	b g	-
shuttle	3	3	3	a -	-
shut	3	3	3	a -	-
"sluttery" a. (sluttish)	3	3	3	a -	+
splutter	3	3	3	a -	-
strut	x	n.k.	3	g e	-
stutter	3	3	3	a -	-
such*	3	2.5.6	2.5.6	e -	-
touch	3	x	x	e d	-

Note also:

I. clutter M 3, E-x

II. Ce [cutler]

2.5.6 M1 /ɪ/ + /k/: SSE /ʌ/

- bulk* n.	7.5.6	3	x	f g	-
knuckles	2	x	x	e d	-
[struck p.t.	x	3	3	d e	-]
- such*	3	3	3	a -	-

2.5.6 ctd.

2.5.6 ctd.DD 2.5.6Note also:

I. suckle M 3

III. knuckles E: only in "nickle deed" (a game of marbles)

IV. such: cf. also DD 2.5.5

2.5.7 M1 /ɪ/ + /m/: SSE /ʌ/

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
gum	x	3	3	d e	-
jumble*	x	3	x	f c	-
rumble* v.	x	3	3	d e	-
rummage	3	3	x	b g	-
scum	1	x	x	e d	-
summer	x	3	x	f c	-

Note also:I. crumpit M 3
jump E 3

II. Ce [Cummings*, Pers.N.]

2.5.8 M1 /ɪ/ + /n/: SSE /ʌ/

country	1	3	x	b g	-
Cunningham* Pers.N.	x	3	3	d e	-
[done p.t., p.p.	3	3	3	a -	+]]
honey	x	x	1	g b	-
once*	3	3	3	a -	-
one*	3	3	3	a -	+
refund	x	3	x	f c	-

2.5.8 ctd.

2.5.8 ctd.DD 2.5.8

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
run v.	3	3	3	a -	-
"sundry" (asunder)	3	3	3	a -	-
trundle* v.	3	n.u.	3	c -	-

Note also:

I. dunc	M 3
"runagate"*	E 3

2.5.9 M1 /ɪ/ + /ɔ:/: SSE /ʌ/

- onion*	3	3.5.9	3	c -	+
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2.5.10 M1 /ɪ/ + /v/: SSE /ʌ/

shove v.	x	3	x	f c	-
- shovel	x	1.5.18	3	g e	-
sloven n.	n.u.	x	3	g f	-

Note also:

I. hover	E* 2	in "hover a blink" (wait a moment)			
slovenly	E* 3				

2.5.11 M1 /ɪ/ + /ə/: SSE /ʌ/

another	3	3	3	a -	+
brother	3	3	3	a -	-
mother	1	3	x	b g	-
other	3	3	3	a -	+
smother*	1	3	7.5.19	b -	-

Note also: II. Ce [udder*]

2.5.12 M1 /ɪ/ + /z/: SSE /ʌ/

DD 2.5.12

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
buzz v.	x	3	3	d e	+
cousin	3	3	3	a -	+
[does, 3.sg.pr.t.	3	3	3	a -	+]]
dozen	3	3	3	a -	+
- hussy*	n.u.	3	x	f g	-
nuzzle	6.5.12	6.5.12	3	g -	-
- us*	x	x	3	g b	-

Note also:

I. - fuss* E 3

2.5.14 M1 /ɪ/ + /f/: SSE /ʌ/

ruffian*	7.5.14	3	3	d -	-
scruff(y)*	3	3	3	a -	-
shuffle v.	3	3	3	a -	-

2.5.15 M1 /ɪ/ + /θ/: SSE /ʌ/

nothing	3	3	3	a -	-
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Note also:

IV. nothing: cf. also DD 3.5.15

2.5.16 M1 /ɪ/ + /s/: SSE /ʌ/

bluster	x	3	3	d e	-
fluster n., v.	3	3	3	a -	-
gusset*	x	2.5.17	3	g e	-

2.5.16 ctd.

2.5.16 ctd.DD 2.5.16

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
just* adv.	3	3	3	a -	+
musty	1	x	x	e d	-
rustle v.	x	1.5.16	3	g e	-
thrust v.	3	3	3	a -	-

Note also:

IV. fluster n., v.: cf. also 9.5.16

2.5.17 M1 /ɪ/ + /ʃ/: SSE /ʌ/

- gusset*	x	3	2.5.16	f e	-
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2.5.18 M1 /ɪ/ + /l/: SSE /ʌ/

hull (shell, skin)	x	3	3	d e	-
scullery	x	3	x	f c	-

Note also:

- I. dulse (a sea-weed) M 3
 Gullane, Pl.N. EM 3
 Rullian Green, F.N. E 3

2.5.19 M1 /ɪ/ + /r/: SSE /ʌ/Note:

- I. Durham*, Pl.N. E 3

2.6.4 M1 /ɪ/ + /p/: SSE /o/Note:

- II. Ce [rope (on a net)]

2.6.5 M1 /ɪ/ + /t/: SSE /o/

DD 2.6.5

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
notch	3	3	x	b g	-
oats*	x	3	3	d e	-
[wrote p.t.	3	3	3	a -	-]

2.6.9 M1 /ɪ/ + /ɲ/: SSE /o/

tongs	3	3	3	a -	-
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2.6.12 M1 /ɪ/ + /z/: SSE /o/

[chosen p.p.	3	7.6.12	7.6.12	e -	+]
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2.6.18 M1 /ɪ/ + /l/: SSE /o/

Note:

II. Ce [mould* (leaf-mould)]

2.6.19 M1 /ɪ/ + /r/: SSE /o/

aboard adv.	x	3	x	f c	-
afford	x	x	3	g b	-
board n.	x	x	3	g b	-
ford	x	n.u.	3	g e	-

Note also:

IV. 2.6.19 is mainly a marker for S.

2.7.2 M1 /ɪ/ + /d/: SSE /u/

- football*	3	2.7.5	3	c -	-
<u>2.7.2 ctd.</u>					

2.7.2 ctd.DD 2.7.2

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
good	3	3	3	a -	+
mood	x	3	3	d e	-
rood (land-measure)	x	3	3	d e	-
should*	x	3	x	f c	+
[stood p.t.	3	3	3	a -	+]]

Note also:

- II. Ce [food]
Ce [hoody-crow]

2.7.4 M1 /ɪ/ + /p/: SSE /u/

scoop v.	3	9.7.4	3	c -	-
stupid*	3	3	3	a -	-

Note also:

- II. N [soup]

2.7.5 M1 /ɪ/ + /t/: SSE /u/

boot	3	3	3	a -	-
brute	3	3	3	a -	+
cloot (cloven hoof)	n.k.	3	3	d -	-
flute	1	3	x	b g	-
foot	3	3	3	a -	+
football*	3	3	3	a -	+
fruit	3	3	3	a -	+
put v.	3	3	3	a -	+

2.7.5 ctd.

2.7.5 ctd.DD 2.7.5

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
recruit	x	3	3	d e	-
root n.	3	3	3	a -	-
soot	3	3	3	a -	+
shoot	1	3	3	a -	-
suit* n., v.	3	3	3	a -	-
suitable*	3	3	3	a -	-

Note also:

- I. Kirknewton*, Pl.N. ES 3
 Newtongrange*, Pl.N. ES 3

2.7.6 M1 /ɪ/ + /k/: SSE /u/

crook v.	3	n.u.	n.u.	e -	-
crook n.	x	x	3	g b	-
crooked a.	x	x	3	g b	-
hook*	x	x	3	g b	-
nook	x	x	3	g b	-

Note also:

- IV. 2.7.6 is a marker for S.

2.7.7 M1 /ɪ/ + /m/: SSE /u/

groom v.	x	x	3	g b	-
loom	x	x	3	g b	-

Note also:

- I. Broomdykes, F.N. S 3
 Broomylees Rig, F.N. S 3
 Hume Castle, Pl.N. S 3

2.7.7 ctd.

Note also:

II. Ce [bloom]
 Ce [broom]
 N, Ce, N [womb]

IV. 2.7.7 is a marker for S.

2.7.8 M1 /ɪ/ + /n/: SSE /u/

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
afternoon*	3	3	3	a -	+
forenoon*	3	3	3	a -	+
June	x	x	1	g b	-
juniper	3.7.8	3.7.8	3	g -	-
moon	1	3	3	a -	-
noon	3	3	3	a -	+
prune v.	x	1.7.8	3	g e	-
"shoon"* (shoes)	3	3	3	a -	-
soon*	3	3	3	a -	-
spoon	3	3	3	a -	+
tune* n.	x	3	3	d e	-

2.7.12 M1 /ɪ/ + /z/: SSE /u/

bruise n.	x	1.7.12	3	g e	-
"bruise" v. (press)	n.u.	n.u.	3	g -	-
bruised a.	3	x	x	e d	-
gooseberry*	x	2.7.16	3	g e	-

2.7.14 M1 /ɪ/ + /f/: SSE /u/

DD 2.7.14

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
hoof	x	x	3	g b	-
proof	3	x	x	e d	-
roof	3	3	3	a -	-
woof n. (weft)	3	n.u.	n.u.	e -	-

Note also:

I. Scroof Hill, F.N. S 3

IV. hoof S: a rounded vowel [y] is occasionally used in this word.

2.7.15 M1 /ɪ/ + /θ/: SSE /u/

ruthless	3	x	x	e d	-
tooth	3	1.7.15	3	c -	-
toothache*	3	3	3	a -	+
truth	x	3	3	d e	-

Note also:

II. Ce [booth n.]

2.7.16 M1 /ɪ/ + /s/: SSE /u/

goose	x	3	x	f c	-
- gooseberry*	x	3	2.7.12	f e	-
spruced	x	x	3	g b	-
"unuse" n. (disuse)	3	3	x	b g	-
use n.	3	3	3	a -	+

Note also: I. useful* EM 3
 useless* EM 3

II. Ce [Bruce, Pers.N.]

2.7.18 M1 /ɪ/ + /ɪ/: SSE /u/DD 2.7.18

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
cool	1	1	x	b g	-
fool n.	3	3	3	a -	-
foolish	3	3	3	a -	-
mule*	3	x	x	e d	-
pool	x	x	3	g b	-
school	3	3	3	a -	-
spool (weaver's shuttle)	3	3	x	b g	-
stool	3	3	3	a -	-
Yule	1	n.u.	n.u.	e -	-

Note also:

I. pullet* M 3

II. Ce [dool]

2.8.2 M1 /ɪ/ + /d/: SSE /ɛɪ, ae/

"sidelings"* adv. n.u. 3 3 d - -

2.8.4 M1 /ɪ/ + /p/: SSE /ɛɪ, ae/

stripe n., v. 3 3 3 a - -

striped* 3 3 3 a - -

2.8.5 M1 /ɪ/ + /t/: SSE /ɛɪ, ae/Note:I. Whiteadder*, Pl.N. S 3
Whitelaw*, Pl.N. S 3

II. Wt. L, S [write*]

2.8.6 M1 /ɪ/ + /k/: SSE /ɛɪ ,ae/DD 2.8.6

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
strike v.	x	3	x	f c	-
cycle n.	1	x	n.u.	e f	-

2.8.7 M1 /ɪ/ + /m/: SSE /ɛɪ ,ae/

climb*	3	3	3	a -	-
climber	3	3	3	a -	-

2.8.8 M1 /ɪ/ + /n/: SSE /ɛɪ ,ae/

behind*	3	3	3	a -	-
bind	x	x	3	g b	-
binder	x	x	3	g b	-
blind	3	3	3	a -	+
blindfold*	n.u.	3	3	d -	-
find	3	3	3	a -	+
grind	3	x	3	c f	-
grindstone*	3	x	5.8.8	e f	-
hind a.	3	3	3	a -	-
hindmost*	3	3	3	a -	-
kind of *	3	3	3	a -	+
wind v.	x	3	n.u.	f e	+

2.8.14 M1 /ɪ/ + /f/: SSE /ɛɪ ,ae/

stifling a.	2	x	x	e d	-
trifle n.	1	1	x	b g	-

2.8.14 ctd.

Note also:

III. stifling a. E: only in "stifflin' heat".

2.8.18 M1 /ɪ/ + /l/: SSE /ɛɪ, ae/

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
lilac	1	3.8.18	x	e g	-

2.8.19 M1 /ɪ/ + /r/: SSE /ɛɪ, ae/

spiral	3	3	x	b g	-
"tyrant" (illtempered person)	3	3	x	b g	-

2.9.5 M1 /ɪ/ + /t/: SSE /ʌu/

sprout v.	7.9.5	7.9.5	3	g -	-
sprouts n.pl.	7.9.5	7.9.5	3	g -	-

Note also:

IV. 2.9.5 is a marker for S.

2.9.8 M1 /ɪ/ + /n/: SSE /ʌu/

impound* v.	3	3	n.k.	b -	-
scrounge	3	7.9.8	x	e g	-

2.10.13 M1 /ɪ/ + /ʒ/: SSE /oɪ/

Note: II. Ce [poison]

2.10.18 M1 /ɪ/ + /ɪ/: SSE /oɪ/

DD 2.10.18

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
loyal	3	1.10.18	1.10.18	e -	-

2.11.19 M1 /ɪ/ + /r/: SSE /ɜ/

blur	3	3	3	a -	-
Earl*	x	x	3	g b	-
earnest* (- money)	x	x	3	g b	-
"earth"* (position of ploughshare)	x	x	3	g b	-
Perth, Pl.N.	3	x	x	e d	-
term	x	x	3	g b	-

Note also:

I.	berth	E 3
	fern	E 3

II. Ce [sperm]

Section 3: M1 /e,ε/

3.1.2 M1 /e,ε/ + /d/: SSE /1/

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
knead	x	x	3	g b	-
(mill-) "lead" n.	3	3	3	a -	-
"Swede" (turnip)	3	3	3	a -	-

Note also:

I.	obedient	M 3
	secede	M 3

3.1.3 M1 /e,ε/ + /g/: SSE /1/

eager	x	3	x	f c	-
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Note also:

I.	eagle	M 3
	renegade v.	EM 3

3.1.4 M1 /e,ε/+ /p/: SSE /1/

"keep" v. (catch)	3	3	3	a -	+
"sweep-road" (ascending road)	n.k.	n.k.	3	g -	-

3.1.5 M1 /e,ε/ + /t/: SSE /1/

beat v.	3	3	3	a -	-
["beat" p.t., p.p.	3	3	3	a -	-]
conceit	3	3	3	a -	-

3.1.5 ctd.

3.1.5 ctd.

DD 3.1.5

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
creature*	3	3	3	a -	-
[eaten p.p.	3	3	1	a -	+]]
heat v.	3	3	x	b g	-
neat a	3	3	3	a -	-
pleat n.	x	3	3	d e	-
receipt	3	3	x	b g	-
seat n.	3	3	3	a -	-
treat n.	3	3	x	b g	-

Note also:

- I. "defeated" a. (exhausted) M 3
 "heater" n. (drink) M 1

3.1.6 M1 /e,ε/ + /k/: SSE /i/

creak (as a doorhinge)	1	3	x	b g	-
- screech*	x	3	3	d e	-
secret	1	3	x	b g	-
sneak v.	1	3	x	b g	-
streak n.	3	3	x	b g	-
treacle	3	3	3	a -	-
weak	3	3	3	a -	+

Note also:

- I. equal M 3
 freak M 3
 weakling* E 3

II. El. E [squeak]

IV. S comments on the dialect forms of E and M in 3.1.6 and other subsections of DD 3.1: "This is 'West-Coast' or 'Irish'."

3.1.7 M1 /e,ε/+ /m/: SSE /1/

DD 3.1.7

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
scheme n.	3	3	3	a -	-
theme	x	1	x	f c	-

3.1.8 M1 /e,ε/+ /n/: SSE /1/

lean a.	x	3	x	f c	-
mean a.	3	x	x	e d	-
scene	3	n.k.	x	e g	-
scenery	x	3	x	f c	-

Note also:

- I. mean v. E 1
wean v. E 3, M 3
- II. Ce [fiend!]
- IV. Cf. 3.1.6, IV.

3.1.10 M1 /e,ε/ + /v/: SSE /1/

lever n.	x	3	x	f c	-
receive	x	3	x	f c	-
sheave* n. (slice)	3	3	(x)	b -	-
weave	x	1	x	f c	-

Note also:

- II. N [leave]
- IV. The most consistent vernacular is M as in other subsections of DD 3.1.
Cf. also 3.1.6, IV.

3.1.11 M1 /e,ε/ + /ɜ/: SSE /i/

DD 3.1.11

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
- heathen*	3.1.15	3	x	f g	-
either	3	3	3	a -	-
neither	3	3	x	b g	-

Note also:

I. - ether* E 3

3.1.12 M1 /e,ε/ + /z/: SSE /i/

"feasible" (tidily done)	x	3	3	d e	-
measles	x	3	2.1.12	f e	-
reason	3	3	x	b g	+
season(ing)	x	3	x	f c	-
tease v.	x	1	x	f c	-
treason	x	3	x	f c	-
weasel*	x	x	3	g b	-

Note also:

I. seize M 1

IV. This is mainly a marker for M.

3.1.14 M1 /e,ε/ + /f/: SSE /i/

sheaf	x	3	x	f c	-
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3.1.15 M1 /e,ε/ + /θ/: SSE /i/

- heathen*	3	3.1.11	x	e g	-
- wreath*	3	3	x	b g	-

3.1.15 ctd.

Note also:

- I. ether* EM 3
 II. Ce [beneath*]

3.1.16 M1 /e,ε/ + /a/: SSE /1/

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
- crease* v., n.	x	3	x	f c	-
decent	3	3	x	b g	+
least	x	3	x	f c	-
recent	3	3	x	b g	-
yeast	3	1	x	b g	-

Note also:

- II. H [beast]
 IV. Cf. 3.1.6, IV.

3.1.18 M1 /e,ε/ + /1/: SSE /1/

conceal	x	3	x	f c	-
"deal" (floor-board)	3	3	3	a -	-
deal n., v.	x	3	3	d e	-
dealer	x	3	3	d e	-
heal	3	3	3	a -	-
meal (repast)	3	3	x	b g	-
real adv.	3	3	x	b g	-
reveal	x	3	x	f c	-

3.1.19 M1 /e,ε/ + /r/: SSE /i/

DD 3.1.19

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
beard n.	3	3	3	a -	-
clear	3	x	x	e d	-
"near" a. (stingy)	x	x	3	g b	-
queer	1	x	x	e d	-
serious*	x	3	x	f c	-
sincere	x	3	3	d e	-
smear v.	x	3	x	f c	+

3.1.20 M1 /e,ε/ + in open syllable: SSE /i/

flea* n.	3	3	x	b g	-
he	1	3	x	b g	-
she	3	3	x	b g	-

Note also:

IV. Cf. 3.1.6, IV.

3.2.1 M1 /e,ε/ + /b/: SSE /ɪ/

Note:

II. Ce [rib]

3.2.2 M1 /e,ε/ + /d/: SSE /ɪ/

"rid"* v. (clean)	3	3	3	a -	-
rid a.	3	x	x	e d	-
[slid p.t.	x	3	x	f c	-]

Note also: II. Ce [hid p.t.]
Ce [lid]

3.2.3 M1 /e,ε/ + /g/: SSE /ɪ/

DD 3.2.3

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
big	x	3	x	f c	-
fig	1.2.3	3	x	f g	-

Note also:

II. Ce [pig]

3.2.4 M1 /e,ε/ + /p/: SSE /ɪ/

pip (pippin)	3	3	x	b g	-
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Note also:

I. grip v. E 1

3.2.5 M1 /e,ε/ + /t/: SSE /ɪ/

[bit (p.t. of bite)	3	x	3	c f	-]
quit v.	3	x	x	e d	-

Note also:

II. Ce [hit p.t.]

3.2.6 M1 /e,ε/ + /k/: SSE /ɪ/

Note:

II. Ce [brick]
Ce [six]

3.2.7 M1 /e,ε/ + /m/: SSE /ɪ/

Note:

II. Ce [simple]

3.2.8 M1 /e,ε/ + /n/: SSE /ɪ/DD 3.2.8

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
dinner	3	3	3	a -	+
inch	x	x	3	g b	-
kindle	3	x	x	e d	+
mingy	3	n.k.	1.2.8	e -	-
squint a.	3	x	x	e d	-

Note also:

II. Ce [print v.]

3.2.14 M1 /e,ε/ + /f/: SSE /ɪ/Note:

II. Ce [fifty]

3.2.16 M1 /e,ε/ + /s/: SSE /ɪ/

Mr. (in address)	3	3	x	b g	-
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Note also:

II. Wt. em.Sc. [listen]
 Wt. L. [this]

3.2.18 M1 /e,ε/ + /l/: SSE /ɪ/

- April*	x	3	8.2.18	f e	-
milt (of fish)	x	3	3	d e	-

Note also:

II. Ce [milk]
 Ce [still]

3.4.1 M1 /e,ε/ + /t/: SSE /a,ɔ/DD 3.4.1

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
abbey	3	3	3	a -	+
Abercromby, Pers.N.	3	3	x	b g	-
Aberdeen, Pl.N.	3	3	3	a -	+
Aberdour*, Pl.N.	3	3	3	a -	+
cabin	3	3	x	b g	-
cabinet*	3	3	x	b g	+
establish*	3	3	x	b g	-
tablet (a sweet)	3	3	3	a -	+

Note also:

- I. Aberlady*, Pl.N. E 3
(and many other Scottish Pl.N. with Aber -.)

3.4.2 M1 /e,ε/ + /d/: SSE /a,ɔ/

adder*	x	3	3.4.11	f e	-
broad	2	2	2	a -	+
[clad p.t.	3	3	3	a -	-]
daddy	1	x	3	c f	-
dawdle	3	3	x	b g	-
glad	3	3	3	a -	+
Haddington* Pl.N.	3	3	3	a -	-
imagination	3	3	x	b g	-
imagine	3	x	x	e d	+
majesty	3	3	x	b g	-
paddle v.	3	3	x	b g	-

3.4.2 ctd.

3.4.2 ctd.DD 3.4.2

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
plaid n.	x	3	3	d e	-
saddle(r)	3	3	3	a -	-
shadow*	3	3	3	a -	-

Note also:

- I. Gladhouse*, Pl.N. S 3
 Gladsmuir*, Pl.N. E 3
 Gladstone's Land (Edin.) E 3

- II. Wt. [adze]
 Wt. L, E [bladder]
 Wt. em.Sc. [father]

III. broad EMS: only in "braid Scots" or "he speaks braid".

IV. plaid n.: cf. also 3.4.2

3.4.3 M1 /e,ε/ + /g/: SSE /a,ɔ/

crag	3	3	3	a -	-
daggle	3	n.k.	n.k.	e -	-
drag (a brake)	3	n.k.	n.k.	e -	-
draggle	3	3	3	a -	+
dragon (paper kite)	3	3	n.u.	b -	-
fagged (- out)	3	x	x	e d	-
faggot	3	x	x	e d	-
haggle	1	x	x	e d	-
sag	3	3	x	b g	-
stagnant	3	x	x	e d	-
vagabond*	3	3	3	a -	-
waggle v.	3	x	x	e d	-

3.4.3 ctd.

3.4.3 ctd.

DD 3.4.3

Note also:

- I. brag E 1
 dagger E 1
 - jackdaw* E 3
 lag a. E 3
 raggy a. E 3
 rag-weed E 3
- II. Ce [nag (pony)]

3.4.4 M1 /e,ε/ + /p/: SSE /a,ɔ/

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
appetite	3	3	x	b g	-
apple	3	3	3	a -	+
cap n.	3	3	x	b g	+
chapel	3	3	3	a -	-
napkin	3	3	3	a -	-
tapestry	3	3	3	a -	+

Note also:

- I. grapple E 3
- IV. napkin: cf. also 1.4.4

3.4.5 M1 /e,ε/ + /t/: SSE /a,ɔ/

baton	x	3	x	f c	-
flat n.	3	3	3	a -	-
Latimer, Pers.N.	3	x	x	e d	-
Latin	3	3	x	b g	-
matter	3	3	3	a -	+
natter	x	3	2.4.5	f e	-

3.4.5 ctd.

3.4.5 ctd.

DD 3.4.5

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
natural*	3	3	3	a -	+
Paterson, Pers.N.	3	3	3	a -	-
patten n.	3	n.k.	n.k.	e -	-
plaits	3	3	3	a -	+
satin	3	3	x	b g	+
satisfy*	3	3	x	b g	-
Saturday	3	3	3	a -	+
scratch	3	x	x	e d	-
statue*	3	x	x	e d	-
water	x	x	3	g b	-

Note also:

I. caterpillar E 1
 platter M 3
 satchel M 3

II. Ce [sat p.t.]

3.4.6 M1 /e,ε/ + /k/: SSE /a,ɔ/

axe	3	3	3	a -	+
axle	3	3	3	a -	+
black (negro)	x	3	x	f c	-
blacken	3	3	3	a -	-
bracken	3	x	3	c f	-
bracket	3	3	x	b g	-
clack (to blether)	3	x	n.u.	e f	-
crack v.	3	x	x	e d	-

3.4.6 ctd.

3.4.6 ctd.DD 3.4.6

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
crack n. (chat)	3	x	x	e d	-
hack v.	3	x	2	c f	-
hackle v.	3	3	3	a -	-
jackdaw*	3	3	3	a -	-
jacket	3	3	3	a -	+
placard*	3	3	x	b g	-
sack (to fire)	3	3	3	a -	-
sack n.	x	3	3	d e	+
sacrament	3	x	3	c f	-
sacrifice*	3	3	x	b g	-
Saxon	3	x	x	e d	-
tackle* v.	3	3	x	b g	-
track n.	3	x	x	e d	-
whack (strike heavily, thwack)	3	3	x	b g	-

Note also:

- I. attack E 3
 Blackhope*, Pl.N. S 3
 cackle v. E 3, M 3
 Clackmae*, Pl.N. S 3
 jack v. E 3, M 3
 jack n. (in cards) E 3
 whack n. (large portion) M 3
- II. Wt. E [black a.]

3.4.7 M1 /e,ε/ + /m/: SSE /a,ɔ/

cambric	3	3	n.k.	b -	-
camel	3	3	3	a -	-

3.4.7 ctd.

3.4.7 ctd.DD 3.4.7

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
champion*	x	3	x	f c	-
dam	x	x	3	g b	-
damage	3	3	x	b g	-
damn	3	3	3	a -	-
enamel	3	x	x	e d	-
family*	3	3	3	a -	+
famine	3	3	x	b g	-
famish	3	3	3	a -	-
gamble*	x	3	x	f c	-
gambler*	3	3	x	b g	-

Note also:

- I. examine E 3, M 3
 glamour E 3, M x
 Hamilton, Pers.N., Pl.N. E 3
 scamp (rascal) E 3
- II. Ce [damson]

3.4.8 M1 /e,ε/ + /n/: SSE /a,ɔ/

banish	3	3	x	b g	-
branch n.	3	3	3	a -	-
channel n.	3	3	x	b g	-
companion*	3	3	n.u.	b -	-
Daniel*, Pers.N.	3	3	x	b g	-
gander	x	3	x	f c	-
[gone	1	3	3	a -	-]

3.4.8 ctd.

3.4.8 ctd.DD 3.4.8

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
granary	3	3	3	a -	+
haunch	3	x	3	c f	-
January*	3	x	x	e d	-
manner	3	3	3	a -	+
manor	x	3	3	d e	-
planet	3	x	x	e d	-
Spaniard*	3	3	x	b g	-
vanish	3	3	x	b g	-
vanity	3	3	x	b g	-

Note also:

I. bandy(-legged)	S 3
sanitary	M 3
sanity	M 3
Spanish	EM 3

3.4.9 M1 /e,ɛ/ + /ɨ/: SSE /a,ɔ /

hang	3	2.4.9	2.4.9	e -	-
hanger	3	3	3	a -	-
- sandwich*	3	x	x	e d	-
thank (you)	3	3	3	a -	-

3.4.10 M1 /e,ɛ/ + /v/: SSE /a,ɔ /

gravel	3	3	3	a -	+
gravity	3	x	x	e d	-
navigate	x	3	x	f c	-

3.4.10 ctd.

3.4.10 ctd.

DD 3.4.10

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
travel	3	3	3	a -	+
unravel	3	3	3	a -	+

Note also:

I. tavern E 1
traveller EM 3

II. Wt. E [have]

3.4.11 M1 /e,ε/ + /ø/: SSE /a,ɔ/

- adder*	x	3	2	d e	+
- bladder*	3	3	3	a -	-
father	3	3	3	a -	+
gather	3	3	3	a -	+
- ladder*	3	3	3	a -	-
rather	3	3	2.4.11	b -	+

Note also:

III. adder* S: only in "fleein' ether" (dragonfly)

IV. father: cf. also 2.4.11

3.4.12 M1 /e,ε/ + /z/: SSE /a,ɔ/

dazzle v.	3	3	3	a -	-
vase	3	3	3	a -	-

Note also:

II. Ce [has]

3.4.14 M1 /e,ε/ + /f/: SSE /a,ɔ /DD 3.4.14

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
after	3	3	3	a -	+
haft n. (handle)	n.u.	n.k.	3	g -	-

3.4.15 M1 /e,ε/ + /θ/: SSE /a,ɔ /

path	x	x	3	g b	-
Pathhead, Pl.N.	x	x	3	g b	-
swath	3	3	3	a -	-

3.4.16 M1 /e,ε/ + /s/: SSE /a,ɔ /

capacity	x	3	x	f c	-
clasp v.	3	3	3	a -	+
class	3	3	3	a -	+
elastic*	x	x	3	g b	-
fasten	3	3	3	a -	-
glass	3	3	3	a -	+
Glasgow*	3	3	3	a -	+
grass	3	3	3	a -	+
hasp	3	3	3	a -	-
jasmine*	x	3	x	f c	-
last (- out)	3	3	3	a -	+
master	3	3	3	a -	+
nasty	3	3	3	a -	-
pacify*	3	n.u.	n.u.	e -	-
plaster n.	3	3	2.4.16	b -	+

3.4.16 ctd.

3.4.16 ctd.

DD 3.4.16

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
wasp	x	x	3	g b	-

Note also:

- I. aspirin E* +
 rasp v.,n. E* +
- II. H [ash]
 Ce [brass]
 Ce [pastern*]

3.4.17 M1 /e,ε/ + /ʃ/: SSE /a,ɔ /

"cautioner" (a surety)	3	3	n.k.	b -	-
dash!	x	x	3	g b	-
national	3	3	3	a -	+
ration	3	3	x	b g	(+)
rational	3	3	3	a -	-
wash v.	x	x	3	g b	-

Note also:

- I. - asphalt* E 1
 flashy a. E 3
- II. Ce [ash-tree]

3.4.18 M1 /e,ε/ + /l/: SSE /a,ɔ /

alder(-tree)	1	3	3	a -	-
Alice, Pers.N.	3	3	3	a -	-
alley	x	3	x	f c	-
bald	x	3	x	f c	-
halter (for horses)	x	x	3	g b	-

3.4.18 ctd.

3.4.18 ctd.DD 3.4.18

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
mall n. (mallet)	3	n.k.	3	c -	-
palace	3	3	3	a -	+
valiant*	3	3	x	b g	+
valid	3	3	3	a -	+
valuable*	3	3	3	a -	+
value*	3	x	3	c f	-

Note also:

- I. Allanshaws, Pl.N. S 3
galley (in printing) E 3
shallow* E ?

3.4.19 M1 /e,ε/ + /r/: SSE /a,ɔ / 1)

alarm	3	3	3	a -	+
arbour	3	3	n.u.	b -	-
arch	3	3	3	a -	+
archbishop	3	x	3	c f	-
arm n.	3	3	3	a -	+
army	3	3	3	a -	+
arrow*	x	3	3	d e	+
arse	3	3	3	a -	+
Arthur, Pers.N.	3	3	3	a -	+
article	x	3	x	f c	-

- 1) Note the comparatively high proportion of dialect forms for E* as in many other subsections of DD 3.4. Dialect forms in DD 3.4 and DD 7.9 are still very characteristic of Edinburgh dialect speech.

3.4.19 ctd.

DD 3.4.19

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
award* v.	3	x	x	e d	-
barracks	3	3	x	b g	-
card	3	3	3	a -	+
carrier	3	3	3	a -	+
carry	3	3	3	a -	+
cart	3	3	3	a -	+
carter	3	3	3	a -	+
charge n., v.	3	3	3	a -	+
charity	3	3	x	b g	+
Charly	3	3	3	a -	+
claret	x	3	x	f c	-
clerk	3	3	3	a -	+
darn	x	3	3	d e	-
dart	x	3	x	f c	-
department	3	3	3	a -	+
dwarf	3	1	1	a -	-
farm	3	3	3	a -	+
farmer	3	3	3	a -	+
garden(er)	3	3	3	a -	+
garter*	3	3	3	a -	+
graveyard	3	3	3	a -	+
guard	3	3	3	a -	+
harbour	3	3	3	a -	+
hark v.	x	3	n.u.	f e	-

3.4.19 ctd.

3.4.19 ctd.DD 3.4.19

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
harm n.	3	3	3	a -	+
harry	3	3	3	a -	-
harvest*	3	3	3	a -	-
heart	3	3	3	a -	+
hearth	3	3	3	a -	+
large	3	x	x	e d	-
march	3	3	3	a -	+
March	3	3	3	a -	+
market	x	x	3	g b	+
Marshall, Pers.N.	3	3	3	a -	-
Martinmas*	n.u.	3	2.4.19	f -	-
martyr	3	3	x	b g	-
narrow* a.	3	3	3	a -	+
parcel	3	x	x	e d	-
parched	2.4.9	3	3	d -	+
parish	1	3	3	a -	+
parsley	2.4.19	3	x	f g	-
partner	3	x	x	e d	+
party	3	3	3	a -	+
regard	3	3	3	a -	-
sergeant	3	3	3	a -	+
shark	3	x	x	e d	-
sharp	3	3	3	a -	+
smart	3	3	3	a -	+

3.4.19 ctd.

2.4.19 ctd.

DD 3.4.19

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
spark n.	3	x	3	c f	-
starch n.	3	3	2.4.19	b -	+
start n.	3	3	3	a -	+
starve	3	3	3	a -	+
swarm	x	x	3	g b	-
tart	3	3	3	a -	+
varnish	3	3	3	a -	-
warn	3	x	3	c f	-
warning n.	3	3	3	a -	-
warp v.	x	n.k.	3	g e	-
yard	3	3	3	a -	-
yarn	3	3	3	a -	-

Note also:

I.	armament	EM 3	farrier	E 3
	armour	EM 3	garland	M 3
	Armour, Pers.N.	EM 3	garment	E 1
	arms (weapons)	EM 3	garnish	EM 3
	Charlestown, Pl.N.	E 3	harp	EM 3
	charm	EM 3	Harry	E 3
	clarify	EM 3	Hartside, Pl.N.	S 3
	depart	EM 3	martyr	M 3
	Derby	E ₂ 3	parchment	E 1, M 3
	discharge	² EM 3	Samaritan	M 3

- II. Ce [ark]
Ce [carpet]
Ce [harpoon*]
Wt. L, E [harrow n.]
Ce [martin*]

- IV. This is the largest number of entries for any of my comparative groups.

Charlie, department, farm, garter: cf. also 2.4.19.

3.5.8 M1 /e,ε/ + /n/: SSE /^/

DD 3.5.8

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
none	3	3	3	a -	+

Note also:

II. Ce [one*]

3.5.9 M1 /e,ε/ + / /: SSE /^/

onion	2.5.9	3	2.5.9	f -	-
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3.5.11 M1 /e,ε/ + /δ/: SSE /^/

Note:

II. Ce [udder*]

3.5.15 M1 /e,ε/ + /θ/: SSE /^/

nothing*	3	2.5.15	2.5.15	e -	-
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3.5.16 M1 /e,ε/ + /s/: SSE /^/

Note:

I. thrust v. E* +

IV. thrust v. E*: Fife influence?

3.5.19 M1 /e,ε/ + /r/: SSE /^/

Note:

II. Ce [Durham, Pl.N.]
Ce N [mother*]

3.6.2 M1 /e,ε/ + /d/: SSE /o/

DD 3.6.2

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
- clothing*	3	n.u.	n.u.	e -	-
load n., v.	1	x	x	e d	-
[loaden p.p.	3	x	3	c f	-]
[rode p.t.	x	x	3	g b	-]
[shod p.p.	x	3	x	f c	-]
toad	x	3	x	f c	-

3.6.4 M1 /e,ε/ + /p/: SSE /o/

soap	1	3	3	a -	-
rope	2	x	3	c f	-
"Popes" (catholics)	3	3	3	a -	-
grope	3	3	3	a -	-
coping-stone*	3	1	1	a -	-

Note also: III. rope E: only in the sense of clothes line.3.6.5 M1 /e,ε/ + /t/: SSE /o/

hot	3	3	3	a -	-
oaten (-bread) a.	1	n.u.	n.u.	e -	-
oatmeal*	x	x	3	g b	-

Note also:

II. Ce [oats*]

3.6.6 M1 /e,ε/ + /k/: SSE /o/

oak	3	x	x	e d	-
spoke n.	x	x	3	g b	-

3.6.6 ctd.

3.6.6 ctd.DD 3.6.6

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
stroke v.	3	x	x	e d	-

Note also:

II. Ce [broke p.t.]

3.6.7 M1 /e,ɛ/ + /m/: SSE /o/

comb	1	3	3	a -	-
comber*	1	n.k.	n.k.	e -	-
home adv.	3	3	3	a -	+

Note also:

II. Ce [foam]

3.6.8 M1 /e,ɛ/ + /n/: SSE /o/

alone	3	3	3	a -	+
bone	3	3	3	a -	-
bonfire	3	3	x	b g	-
loan	3	3	3	a -	+
lonesome	3	3	3	a -	-
moan v.	1	x	x	e d	-
own a.	3	3	3	a -	+
stone	3	3	3	a -	+

Note also:

I. stony E 3

II. Ce [groan v.]

3.6.10 M1 /e,ε/ + /v/: SSE /o/

DD 3.6.10

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
[drove p.t.	3	3	3	a -	-]
[strove p.t.	3	x	x	e d	-]
[rove p.t.	x	3	3	d e	-]
[throve p.t.	3	3	3	a -	-]

3.6.12 M1 /e,ε/ + /z/: SSE /o/

- clothes*	3	3	3	a -	+
[rose p.t.	x	3	3	d e	-]

3.6.14 M1 /e,ε/ + /f/: SSE /o/

woeful*	3	3	3	a -	-
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Note also:

II. Ce [loaf]

3.6.15 M1 /e,ε/ + /θ/: SSE /o/

both	3	3	3	a -	+
cloth	1	3	3	a -	-
loath	x	3	x	f c	-
oath	1	x	x	e d	-

3.6.16 M1 /e,ε/ + /s/: SSE /o/

ghost	1	x	3	c f	-
mostly)	3	3	3	a -	+

Note also: I. "woesome" S 3

3.6.18 M1 /e,ɛ/ + /l/: SSE /o/DD 3.6.18

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
"cole"	3	3	3	a -	+
whole	3	3	3	a -	+

3.6.19 M1 /e,ɛ/ + /r/: SSE /o/

floor	3	3	3	a -	+
hoarse	3	3	3	a -	-
"Lord" (landowner)	3	3	3	a -	+
more	3	3	3	a -	+
roar v.	2	3	x	b g	-
sore	3	3	3	a -	+

Note also:

II. Ce [shore p.t.]

III. roar v. E: only in the sense of "talk loudly".

3.6.20 M1 /e,ɛ/ in open syllable: SSE /o/

foe	2	x	x	e d	-
no a.	3	3	3	a -	+
sloe	3	3	3	a -	-
so	3	3	3	a -	+
toe n.	3	3	3	a -	+
woe	2	2	n.u.	b -	-

Note also:

II. Ce [go]

III. foe E: only in "freend an' foe" (friend and foe).

woe EM: only in "wae's tae me!" (woe is me!)

3.7.2 M1 /e,ε/ + /d/: SSE /u/

DD 3.7.2

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
hoody (- crow)	x	x	3	g b	-

3.7.5 M1 /e,ε/ + /t/: SSE /u/

Note:

- II. Ce [foot]
Ce [put]

3.7.6 M1 /e,ε/ + /k/: SSE /u/

book	x	x	1	g b	-
------	---	---	---	-----	---

3.7.7 M1 /e,ε/ + /m/: SSE /u/

womb	2	1	x	b g	-
------	---	---	---	-----	---

Note also:

- III. womb E: only in "ma wame's fu'" (I have had enough)

3.7.8 M1 /e,ε/ + /n/: SSE /u/

juniper*	2	3	2.7.8	b -	-
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Note also:

- III. juniper E: only in the Pl.N. Juniper Green.

3.7.10 M1 /e,ε/ + /v/: SSE /u/

Note:

- II. Ce [prove]

3.7.11 M1 /e,ε/ + /ǣ/: SSE /u/DD 3.7.11Note:

II. N, Ce [smooth a.]

3.7.12 M1 /e,ε/ + /z/: SSE /u/

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
abuse* v.	1	3	3	a -	-
accuse*	x	3	x	f c	-
amuse*	3	3	x	b g	-
choose	x	3	3	d e	-
confuse*	1	3	3	a -	-
excuse* v.	1	3	3	a -	-
muse* v.	n.u.	3	n.u.	f -	-
music*	1	3	x	b g	-
refuse* v.	x	3	3	d e	-
use v.	3	3	3	a -	+
whose*	3	3	3	a -	+

Note also:

I. bruise n. E* +

3.7.13 M1 /e,ε/ + /3/: SSE /u/

confusion*	1	1	3	a -	-
usual*	3	3	3	a -	+

3.7.16 M1 /e,ε/ + /s/: SSE /u/

Note: I. gruesome E* 1
 Shoestanes*, Pl.N. S 3

Note:

- II. N [cool]
 N [fool]
 N [school]

- IV. In this N agrees with forms commonly found in the county of Fife.

3.7.19 M1 /e,ε/ + /r/: SSE /u/

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
assure	3	3	x	b g	-
curious*	x	3	3	d e	-
demure* (serious)	3	n.k.	n.k.	e -	-
endure*	x	3	x	f c	-
insure	3	3	1	a -	-
moor (moorland)	3	3	3	a -	-
obscure*	1	x	x	e d	-
poor	3	3	3	a -	+
secure*	x	x	3	g b	-
sure	3	3	3	a -	+

Note also:

- I. Lammermuirs*, F.N. S 3
 Whinnie Moor, F.N. S 3

3.7.20 M1 /e,ε/ in open syllable: SSE /u/

ado	x	3	3	d e	-
"blue" (livid)	3	3	3	a -	-
"brew" (gravy, melted snow)	3	3	3	a -	-

3.7.20 ctd.

3.7.20 ctd.

DD 3.7.20

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
do	3	3	3	a -	+
shoe n., v.	3	3	3	a -	+
to(o)	3	3	3	a -	+
two*	4.7.20	3	3	d -	-
who*	3	3	3	a -	+

3.8.5 M1 /e,ɛ/ + /t/: SSE /ɛɪ,ae/

bronchitis*	x	3	3	d e	-
quiet	1	x	x	e d	-

3.8.11 M1 /e,ɛ/ + /ð/: SSE /ɛɪ,ae/

- eiderdown*	x	x	3	g b	-
either*	3	3	3	a -	-
neither*	3	3	x	b g	-

3.8.18 M1 /e,ɛ/ + /l/: SSE /ɛɪ,ae/

lilac	2.8.18	3	x	f g	-
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3.8.19 M1 /e,ɛ/ + /r/: SSE /ɛɪ,ae/

iron*	x	3	x	f c	-
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3.9.20 M1 /e,ɛ/ in open syllable: SSE /ʌu/

"brow" (of hill)	3	3	3	a -	+
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3.10.19 M1 /e,ε/ + /r/: SSE /oi/

DD 3.10.19

Note:

I. coir* (coconut fibre for making ropes) E 3

Section 4: M1 /a,ɔ/4.2.4 M1 /a,ɔ/ + /p/: SSE /ɪ/Note:

- I. whippet M 3
 II. Ce [hip (of rose)]

4.2.5 M1 /a,ɔ/ + /t/: SSE /ɪ/

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
[hit* p.t., p.p.	3	5.2.5	5.2.5	e -	+

4.2.6 M1 /a,ɔ/ + /k/: SSE /ɪ/Note:

- I. six M 1
 sixpence* M 1

4.2.9 M1 /a,ɔ/ + /ŋ/: SSE /ɪ/

- twinge*	3	5.2.8	x	e g	-
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Note also:

- II. Ce [sting n., v.]

4.3.1 M1 /a,ɔ/ + /b/: SSE /e,ɛ/

baby	3	3	3	a -	-
"labour" v. (belabour)	n.k.	3	3	d -	-
web	x	3	1	d e	-

4.3.2 M1 /a,ɔ/ + /d/: SSE /e,ɛ/DD 4.3.2

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
cockade	3	x	x	e d	-
gager	3	3	x	b g	-
jade (old horse)	3	x	x	e d	-
wager n.	x	3	x	f c	-
wedding	5.3.2	3	5.3.2	f -	-
wedge n.	x	3	x	f c	-
Wednesday	1	3	3	a -	-

Note also:

I. rampage v. EM 3

IV. S shows a preference for SSE forms.

4.3.4 M1 /a,ɔ/ + /p/: SSE /e,ɛ/

halfpenny*	3	3	3	a -	-
step n.	x	3	x	f c	-
weapon	2.3.4	3	x	f g	-

Note also:

I. gape v. E 3

II. Wt. E [apron]

4.3.5 M1 /a,ɔ/ + /t/: SSE /e,ɛ/

let v.	x	3	x	f c	+
["letten" p.t., p.p. (let)]	2.3.5	3	x	f g	-]
potato*	3	3	3	a -	+

4.3.5 ctd.

4.3.5 ctd.

DD 4.3.5

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
[sweated* p.t.	3	3	x	b g	-]
wet a., v.	1.3.5	1.3.5	3	g -	-

Note also:

- I. apparatus E** 3
 status E** 3
- II. Ce [Satan]

4.3.6 M1 /a,ɔ/ + /k/: SSE /e,ɛ/

acre	x	1	x	f c	-
make	x	3	x	f c	-
take	2	2	1	a -	-
waken	3	1	x	b g	-

Note also:

- II. Ce [speckle*]
- III. take EM: only in "tak tent" (take heed).

4.3.7 M1 /a,ɔ/ + /m/: SSE /e,ɛ/

[came p.t.	3	5.3.7	5.3.7	e -	-]
chamber*	3	x	x	e d	-

4.3.8 M1 /a,ɔ/ + /n/: SSE /e,ɛ/

crane (for lifting weights)	3	3	x	b g	+
when	x	3	3	d e	-
wren	x	3	n.k.	f e	-

4.3.8 ctd.

Note also:

- I. crane (water-tap) EM 3
 many E₂ +
- II. Wt. L, E [ancient]
 Ce [Saint]

4.3.11 M1 /a,ɔ/ + /ʃ/: SSE /e,ɛ/

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
weather	x	3	5.3.11	f e	-
wether	3	n.k.	3	c -	-

Note also:

- I. "leather" v. (beat) E 3
 weathergall* S 3
 Weatherhead*, Pl.N. S 3

4.3.12 M1 /a,ɔ/ + /z/: SSE /e,ɛ/

razor	3	3	x	b g	-
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4.3.14 M1 /a,ɔ/ + /f/: SSE /e,ɛ/Note:

- I. chafe M 3
- II. Ce [weft n.]

4.3.15 M1 /a,ɔ/ + /θ/: SSE /e,ɛ/

unscathed*	x	n.u.	3	g e	-
- (turning) lathe*	x (3.20)	n.k.	3	g e	-

4.3.16 M1 /a,ɔ/ + /s/: SSE /e,ɛ/

DD 4.3.16

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
question*	x	3	x	f c	-
west*	3	3	3	a -	-
West Calder*, Pl.N.	x	3	x	f c	-
wrestle	3	3	x	b g	-

Note also:

I. Westruther, Pl.N. S 3

4.3.17 M1 /a,ɔ/ + /ʃ/: SSE /e,ɛ/Note:

I. expatiate E 3
 mesh M₂ 3

4.3.18 M1 /a,ɔ/ + /l/: SSE /e,ɛ/

fellow*	1	3	x	b g	-
swell	x	3	x	f c	-
["swelled" p.p.	3	3	3	a -	-]
twelve*	3	3	3	a -	-
twelfth*	x	3	x	f c	-
welcome n.	3	3	x	b g	-
well n.	x	3	3	d e	-
well adv.	1.3.18	3	1.3.18	f -	-
whelp	3	5.3.18	5.3.18	e -	-

4.3.19 M1 /a,ɔ/ + /r/: SSE /e,ɛ/

DD 4.3.19

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
dare v.	3	3	3	a -	-
scare	x	3	x	f c	-
terrier*	3	3	x	b g	-
"ware" (wary)	1	3	3	a -	-
where	3	3	x	b g	-

Note also:

I. apparent E** 3

4.3.20 M1 /a,ɔ/ in open syllable: SSE /e,ɛ/

away	3	3	3	a -	+
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4.5.5 M1 /a,ɔ/ + /t/: SSE /ʌ/

clutch n.	x	3	x	f c	-
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4.5.6 M1 /a,ɔ/ + /k/: SSE /ʌ/

Note:

II. Ce [stuck p.t.]

4.5.7 M1 /a,ɔ/ + /m/: SSE /ʌ/

stomach	3	3	3	a -	-
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4.5.9 M1 /a,ɔ/ + /ŋ/: SSE /ʌ/

Note:

II. Ce [flung p.t.]

Note:

II. Wt. L. [love]

4.5.17 M1 /a,ɔ/ + /ʃ/: SSE /ʌ/

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
slush	3	3	3	a -	-

Note also:

I. rush (plant) E 3

4.6.1 M1 /a,ɔ/ + /b/: SSE /o/ 1)

fob n.	3	n.k.	x	e g	-
gobbet	3	n.k.	n.k.	e -	-
sob v., n.	x	3	x	f c	-
wobble v.	3	x	x	e d	-

Note also:

I. blob E 3
 - flop down* E 3

4.6.2 M1 /a,ɔ/ + /d/: SSE /o/

sodden	n.u.	5.6.2	3	g -	-
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Note also:

I. "sodded"* S 3

1) I include in DD 4.6 only cases, where M1 has /a/ for SSE /o/, cf. p. 47.

4.6.3 M1 /a,-/ + /g/: SSE /o/

DD 4.6.3

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
clog v. (with mud)	3	n.u.	5.6.3	e -	-
Hogmanay	3	5.6.3	x	e g	-

4.6.4 M1 /a,-/ + /p/: SSE /o/

"copper" n. (boiler)	n.u.	3	n.u.	f -	-
crop n.	x	3	x	f c	-
drop n.	3	x	3	c f	+
flop n.	x	3	3	d e	-
hop	3	3	x	b g	-
hopper	3	3	x	b g	-
lop v.	3	n.u.	x	e g	-
"lopped" (-milk)	3	3	3	a -	-
pop v.	3	3	x	b g	-
prop	x	3	x	f c	-
soppy	3	n.k.	3	c -	-
sops	3	x	x	e d	-
stopped* a.	x	3	x	f c	+
stopper	3	3	x	b g	-
top	3	3	3	a -	+

Note also:

- I. chop (cut o.'s finger) S 3
 "chopped"* E 3
 "chopin" (a measure) E 3, M 1
 flop (-down)* E 3
 stopple E 3

IV. For many entries S prefers SSE forms.

4.6.5 M1 /a,-/ + /t/: SSE /o/DD 4.6.5

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
pot	3	3	x	b g	-
spot (a - of sth.)	x	3	3	d e	-

Note also:

- II. Ce [bottle (of straw)]
 Ce [got p.t.]
 Ce [Potter, Pers.N.]

4.6.6 M1 /a,-/ + /k/: SSE /o/

[broke p.t.	3	3	x	b g	-]
[spoke p.t.	3	3	x	b g	-]

4.6.7 M1 /a,-/ + /m/: SSE /o/

T(h)om(as), Pers.N.	3	3	3	a -	+
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Note also:

- II. Ce [Crombie*, Pers.N.]

4.6.8 M1 /a,-/ + /n/: SSE /o/

bonnet	3	3	3	a -	+
own v. (possess)	3	3	3	a -	-

Note also:

- II. Ce [bond]
 Ce [mown p.p.]

4.6.9 M1 /a,-/ + /ŋ/: SSE /o/

along	3	x	x	e d	-
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4.6.9 ctd.

4.6.9 ctd.DD 4.6.9

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
belong	x	x	3	g b	-
long	3	x	x	e d	-
song	3	3	x	b g	-
strong	3	x	x	e d	-
throng, a.	3	3	3	a -	+
wrong	3	x	x	e d	-

Note also:

II. N, Wt. L, E [tongs]
 Wt. L, E [thong]

4.6.11 M1 /a,-/ + /ɔ/: SSE /o/

bother	3	x	x	e d	-
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4.6.14 M1 /a,-/ + /f/: SSE /o/

off	3	3	x	b g	-
soft	x	x	3	g b	-
toffie	3	x	3	c f	-

4.6.17 M1 /a,-/ + /ʃ/: SSE /o/

galoshes	x	n.u.	3	g e	-
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4.6.18 M1 /a,-/ + /l/: SSE /o/

old	x	x	3	g b	-
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4.6.19 M1 /a,-/ + /r/: SSE /o/

DD 4.6.19

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
hoar-(frost)	x	n.k.	3	g e	-
porridge*	3	x	3	c f	-

4.6.20 M1 /a,-/ in open syllable: SSE /o/

blow v.	3	3	3	a -	+
crow	3	3	3	a -	+
mow	3	3	3	a -	-
no (interj.)	3	3	3	a -	+
owe	3	3	x	b g	-
row n.	3	3	3	a -	+
snow n., v.	3	3	3	a -	-
sow v.	x	3	3	d e	-
throe n.	3	3	3	a -	-

Note also:

- II. Ce [go]
Ce [show]

4.7.5 M1 /a,°/ + /t/: SSE /u/

[put p.t.	5.7.5	5.7.5	3	g -	-]
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4.7.20 M1 /a,°/ in open syllable: SSE /u/

two*	3	3	3.7.20	b -	-
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4.8.20 M1 /a,°/ in open syllable: SSE /εI, ae/

I	3	3	3	a -	+
my	3	3	3	a -	+

4.9.8 M1 /a,ɔ/ + /n/: SSE /ʌ/

DD 4.9.8

Note:

- II. Ce [bound p.t.]
Ce [found p.t., p.p.]

4.11.12 M1 /a,ɔ/ + /r/: SSE /ɜ/

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
[heard p.t.	3	3	x	b g	-]
swerve	3	x	x	e d	-

Note also:

- II. Ce [stern (of a ship)]

Section 5: M1 /ʌ/5.2.2 M1 /ʌ/ + /d/: SSE /ɪ/ 1)

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
- stithy	n.k.	n.k.	3	g -	-

Note also:

- II. Ce [bidden p.p.]
 Ce [lid]
 Ce [middle]
 Ce [withy* n.]

5.2.4 M1 /ʌ/ + /p/: SSE /ɪ/

whip v.	1.2.4	1.2.4	3	g -	-
whip n.	3	3	3	a -	-

Note also:

- II. Ce [clip n., v.] Ce [lip]
 Ce [dip n., v.] Ce [nip n., v.]
 Ce [grip n., v.] Ce [ship]
 Ce [hip (of rose)]

5.2.5 M1 /ʌ/ + /t/: SSE /ɪ/

[hit* p.t., p.p.]	3	3	3	a -	-]
wit n.	3	x	3	c f	-
witch	x	x	3	g b	-

5.2.5 ctd.

- 1) Note that most words in subsections DD 5.2, in which M1 /ʌ/ corresponds to SSE /ɪ/, start with /w/ or /m/ and that Ce gives a much higher number of items belonging here.
 (cf. p. 43)

Note also:

II.	Ce [bit]	Ce [little]
	Ce [ditch]	Ce [pit]
	Ce [flit v.]	Ce [rich]
	Ce [it*]	Ce [spit]

IV. hit p.t., p.p.: cf. also 4.2.5.

5.2.6 M1 /ʌ/ + /k/: SSE /ɪ/

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
chick(ie)*	3	7.2.6	7.2.6	e -	-

Note also:

II. Ce [liquorice*]
 Ce [(hay-)rick]
 Ce [six]

5.2.7 M1 /ʌ/ + /m/: SSE /ɪ/

brimstone*	3	3	3	a -	-
thimble*	3	3	3	a -	-
whim	x	3	n.u.	f e	-

Note also:

II. Ce [skim]

5.2.8 M1 /ʌ/ + /n/: SSE /ɪ/

cinders*	x	x	3	g b	-
twinge*	4.2.9	3	x	f g	-
wind* n.	x	x	3	g b	-

Note also:

II.	Ce [chin]	Ce [win]	Ce [windle*]
	Ce [whin]	Ce [winch]	Ce [window*]
			Ce [winter]

5.2.9 M1 /ʌ/ + /ŋ/: SSE /ɪ/

DD 5.2.9

Note:

I. wrinkle EM 3

5.2.10 M1 /ʌ/ + /v/: SSE /ɪ/

Note:

II. Ce [live]
Ce [river]

5.2.12 M1 /ʌ/ + /z/: SSE /ɪ/

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
besom	x	x	3	g b	-

Note also:

II. Ce [risen p.p.]

5.2.14 M1 /ʌ/ + /f/: SSE /ɪ/

	x	x	3	g b	+
whiff	x	x	3	g b	+

Note also:

II. Ce [different]
Ce [drifter*]
Ce [fifty]

5.2.16 M1 /ʌ/ + /s/: SSE /ɪ/

whisker	3	x	x	e d	-
whiskey	3	x	x	e d	-
whistle	3	x	x	e d	-

Note also:

II. Wt. E [thistle]
Ce [twist]
Ce [Whitsunday*]

5.2.17 M1 /ʌ/ + /ʃ/: SSE /ɪ/

DD 5.2.17

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
wish	3	3	3	a -	-

Note also:

II. Ce [fish]

5.2.18 M1 /ʌ/ * /l/: SSE /ɪ/

fill n., v.	3	x	x	e d	+
milk n.	3	x	x	e d	+
quilt* n.	3	x	x	e d	-
silver*	3	3	3	a -	-
will (aux.v.)	3	3	x	b g	-
will n.	3	x	x	e d	-
Willie, Pers.N.	3	3	3	a -	+
willow*	3	n.u.	x	e g	-
Wilson, Pers.N.	3	x	x	e d	-
(window-)sill	3	6.2.18	3	c -	-

Note also:

I. Wilsontoun, Pl.N. S 3

II. Ce [filly]	Ce [kilt]	Wt., L, E [silk]
Ce [gill]	Ce [mill]	Ce [silly]
Ce [hill]	Ce [miller]	Ce [stilt]
Ce [ill]	Ce [pillow*]	Ce [till prep.]
Ce [kiln*]	Ce [shilling*]	Ce [village]

5.2.19 M1 /ʌ/ * /r/: SSE /ɪ/

- bristle*	3	n.u.	n.u.	e -	-
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Note also:

II. Ce [squirrel]

5.3.2 M1 /^h/ + /d/: SSE /e,ε/

DD 5.3.2

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
wedding	3	4.3.2	3	c -	-

Note also:

- II. Ce [red]
Ce [wed v.]

5.3.5 M1 /^h/ + /t/: SSE /e,ε/

["letten" p.t., p.p. 2.3.5	3	x	f g	-]
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5.3.7 M1 /^h/ + /m/: SSE /e,ε/

[came p.t. 4.3.7	3	3	a -	+]]
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Note also:

- I. [became p.t. EM 3]
II. Ce [tremble*]

5.3.8 M1 /^h/ + /n/: SSE /e,ε/

many	3	3	3	a -	-
------	---	---	---	-----	---

Note also:

- I. wrench E 3
II. Wt. L, E [trench]
Ce [twenty]
Ce [wench n., v.]

5.3.11 M1 /^h/ + /ð/: SSE /e,ε/

weather	x	4.3.11	3	g e	-
wether	2.3.11	2.3.11	3	g -	-

5.3.18 M1 /ʌ/ + /l/: SSE /e,ε/

DD 5.3.18

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
dwell	3	x	x	e d	-
wealth	3	3	x	b g	-
whelk	n.k.	3	n.k.	f -	+
whelp	4.3.18	3	3	d -	-

Note also:

- II. Ce [ale*]
Ce [felloe]

5.4.5 M1 /ʌ/ + /t/: SSE /a,ɔ/ 1)

[sat p.t.	3	3	3	a -	-]
[spat p.t.	3	3	3	a -	-]

5.4.6 M1 /ʌ/ + /k/: SSE /a,ɔ/

slacken up	x	x	3	g b	-
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5.4.7 M1 /ʌ/ + /m/: SSE /a,ɔ/

Note:

- I. Crammond, Pl.N. E 3
II. Ce [bramble*]

1) The number of entries in this subsection, in which M1 /ʌ/ corresponds to SSE /a,ɔ/ followed by various consonants, could be increased considerably if connected speech were considered. Since the outset of my investigations I have felt less and less certain about whether to consider this correspondence a primary dialect feature. This uncertainty is caused by the different phonetic manifestations of /ʌ/ in the vernaculars and the resulting partial phonetic overlap of /ʌ/ and /a/.
(cf. p. 46)

5.4.8 M1 /ʌ/ + /n/: SSE /a,ɔ/

DD 5.4.8

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
candy*	3	3	3	a -	+
maunder (act, talk foolishly)	3	n.k.	n.k.	e -	-

Note also:

I.	banner	E 3
	bantam*	S 3
	branch	E* +
	haunch	E* +
	haunt	E 1
	man! (exclam.)	E 3

5.4.12 M1 /ʌ/ + /z/: SSE /a,ɔ/

Note:

I.	because	E 3
	has	E 3

5.4.14 M1 /ʌ/ + /f/: SSE /a,ɔ/

Note:

I.	baffle	E 3
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5.4.17 M1 /ʌ/ + /ʃ/: SSE /a,ɔ/

[washed* p.p.	x	2.4.17	3	g e	-]
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Note also:

I.	rash n.	E 1
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5.4.18 M1 /ʌ/ + /l/: SSE /a,ɔ/

assault n., v.	3	3	3	a -	-
galley (on a boat)	3	3	x	b g	-

5.4.19 M1 /ʌ/ + /r/: SSE /a,ɔ/

DD 5.4.19

Note:

II. Ce [shark]

5.6.1 M1 /ʌ/ + /b/: SSE /o/

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
rob	3	x	x	e d	-

Note also:

II. Ce [robber]

5.6.2 M1 /ʌ/ + /d/: SSE /o/

body (person)	3	3	3	a -	+
lodgings	3	3	3	a -	-
lodge	3	3	3	a -	-
sodden a.	n.u.	3	4.6.2	f -	-

Note also:

I. beholden* E 3
hold* E* 3

II. Wt. L, E [fodder]
Ce [uphold]

5.6.3 M1 /ʌ/ + /g/: SSE /o/

clog (with mud)	4.6.3	n.k.	3	g -	-
dog	3	3	3	a -	+
Hogmanay	4.6.3	3	x	f g	-

Note also:

IV. dog: cf. also 9.6.3

5.6.4 M1 /[^]/ + /p/: SSE /o/

DD 5.6.4

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
poppy	3	x	x	e d	-

5.6.9 M1 /[^]/ + /ŋ/: SSE /o/

donkey	3	3	3	a -	+
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5.6.11 M1 /[^]/ + /ð/: SSE /o/

Note:

II. Ce [fodder*]

5.6.12 M1 /[^]/ + /z/: SSE /o/

Note:

II. Ce [rose p.t.]

5.6.18 M1 /[^]/ + /l/: SSE /o/

poultice	x	1	3	d e	-
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5.6.19 M1 /[^]/ + /r/: SSE /o/

mourn	3	3	x	b g	-
-------	---	---	---	-----	---

Note also:

II. Ce [form n. (bench)]
Ce [sword*]

5.7.2 M1 /[^]/ + /d/: SSE /u/

pudding	3	3	3	a -	+
wood	3	3	3	a -	-

5.7.2 ctd.

5.7.2 ctd.DD 5.7.2

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
would	3	3	3	a -	-

Note also:

- II. Wt. L, E [could]
Ce [should*]

5.7.3 M1 /ʌ/ + /g/: SSE /u/Note:

- II. Ce [sugar]

5.7.5 M1 /ʌ/ + /t/: SSE /u/

butcher	1	x	x	e d	-
put	3	2.7.5	2.7.5	e -	-

Note also:

- II. Ce [foot]
Wt. L, E [soot]

5.7.6 M1 /ʌ/ + /k/: SSE /u/

[shook p.t.	3	x	x	e d	-]
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5.7.7 M1 /ʌ/ + /m/: SSE /u/

woman	3	3	3	a -	+
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Note also:

- II. Wt. L [gloom]

5.7.16 M1 /ʌ/ + /ʃ/: SSE /u/

DD 5.7.16

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
bush	3	3	3	a -	-
bushel	3	3	3	a -	-
push v.	3	3	3	a -	+
cushion	3	3	3	a -	-

5.7.18 M1 /ʌ/ + /l/: SSE /u/

bull	3	3	3	a -	-
bullet	3	3	3	a -	-
bullfinch	3	3	3	a -	-
bully v.	3	3	3	a -	+
full a.	3	3	3	a -	+
fully	3	3	3	a -	-
pull v.	3	3	3	a -	+
- pulpit*	3	x	x	e d	-

5.7.19 M1 /ʌ/ + /r/: SSE /u/Note:

I. Muirhouse*, Pl.N. S 3

5.8.8 M1 /ʌ/ + /n/: SSE /ɛɪ, ae/

grindstone*	2.8.8	x	3	g f	-
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5.9.2 M1 /ʌ/ + /d/: SSE /ʌu/

cloud n.	x	x	3	g b	-
----------	---	---	---	-----	---

5.9.8 M1 /ʌ/ + /n/: SSE /ʌu/DD 5.9.8

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
[bound p.t., p.p.	3	3	3	a -	-]
[found p.t., p.p.	3	3	3	a -	-]
foundling	3	x	x	e d	-
fountain	x	3	x	f c	-
ground n.	3	3	3	a -	+
[ground p.t., p.p.	3	3	3	a -	+]]
"hound"* v.	n.u.	n.u.	3	g -	-
mount v.	x	3	x	f c	-
mountain	x	3	x	f c	-
"mounting"* (ornament on horse)	n.k.	n.k.	3	g -	-
mountebank	3	3	1	a -	-
ounce	3	3	3	a -	-
pound (weight)	3	3	3	a -	+
pounce v.	3	x	x	e d	-
[wound p.t., p.p.	3	n.u.	3	c -	-]

Note also:

I. Fountainhall*, Pl.N. S 3

II. Wt. L, E [hound n.]

5.10.12(13, 17) M1 /ʌ/ + /z/ or /ʒ/ or /ʃ/: SSE /o /

poison* n.	3	3	3	a -	-
------------	---	---	---	-----	---

Note also:

IV. Cf. also 8.10.12

5.11.19 M1 /^/ + /r/: SSE /3/

DD 5.11.19

Note:

II. Ce [swirl]

Section 6: M1 /o/6.2.2 M1 /o/ + /d/: SSE /ɪ/

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
bid n. (at auction)	x	x	3	g b	-
[bid p.t.	x	x	3	g b	-]

6.2.5 M1 /o/ + /t/: SSE /ɪ/

hitch v.	3	7.2.5	x	e g	+
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6.2.18 M1 /o/ + /l/: SSE /ɪ/

sill (window-)	3	3	5.2.18	b -	-
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6.3.8 M1 /o/ + /n/: SSE /e,ɛ/

any	3	3	3	a -	+
anybody	3	3	3	a -	+
anyway	3	3	3	a -	+
"lane"	3	3	3	a -	-

Note also:

I. anything EM 3

6.3.18 M1 /o/ + /l/: SSE /e,ɛ/

umbrella*	x	x	3	g b	-
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6.4.2 M1 /o/ + /d/: SSE /a/ ¹⁾

DD 6.4.2

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
[bade p.t. of bid	2.4.2	2.4.2	3	g -	-]

6.4.8 M1 /o/ + /n/: SSE /a/

Note:

II. Wt. L [answer]

6.4.16 M1 /o/ + /s/: SSE /a/

tassel	x	3	3	d e	+
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6.4.19 M1 /o/ + /r/: SSE /a/

farrow* a. (of cow)	x	x	3	g b	-
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6.5.2 M1 /o/ + /d/: SSE /^/

trudge v.	1	3	x	b g	-
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6.5.3 M1 /o/ + /g/: SSE /^/

bug	3	3	x	b g	-
-----	---	---	---	-----	---

drug n.	1	3	x	b g	-
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druggist (chemist)	1	3	n.k.	b -	-
--------------------	---	---	------	-----	---

6.5.5 M1 /o/ + /t/: SSE /^/

putty v.	3	3	3	a -	-
----------	---	---	---	-----	---

1) In this subsection I include only examples in which M1 /o/ corresponds to SSE /a/.
(cf. fn. 1, p. 186)

6.5.6 M1 /o/ + /k/: SSE /[^]/

DD 6.5.6

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
"truck" (dealings)	3	x	3	c f	-

6.5.8 M1 /o/ + /n/: SSE /[^]/

constable	3	3	x	b g	+
-----------	---	---	---	-----	---

6.5.10 M1 /o/ + /v/: SSE /[^]/

covenant(er)	3	3	x	b g	-
covet	3	7.5.10	x	e g	-
covey	3	n.k.	x	e g	-
govern	x	3	3	d e	-
hover	3	3	3	a -	-
oven	3	3	3	a -	+
plover	3	3	3	a -	-

Note also:

I.	covetous	M 3
	governor	E 3

6.5.12 M1 /o/ + /z/: SSE /[^]/

muzzle (snuggle)	3	3	2.5.12	b -	-
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6.5.18 M1 /o/ + /l/: SSE /[^]/

Note:

I.	colander	M 3
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6.7.2 M1 /o/ + /d/: SSE /u/

DD 6.7.2

Note:

I. "brood-sow"* S 3

6.7.12 M1 /o/ + /z/: SSE /u/

Note:

II. Wt. E [lose]

6.7.16 M1 /o/ + /s/: SSE /u/

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
- lose	3	3	3	a -	-

Note also:

I. - loser n. EM 3

6.8.12 M1 /o/ + /z/: SSE /ɛɪ, ae/

Note:

I. Hatchednize*, Pl.N. S 3

6.10.2 M1 /o/ + /d/: SSE /oɪ/

embroider	x	3	x	f c	-
embroidery	x	3	x	f c	-

Note also:

IV. This is an exclusive phenomenon of M. It has not been noted anywhere else in Scotland.

6.10.16 M1 /o/ + /s/: SSE /oɪ/

- noise*	x	3	x	f c	-
----------	---	---	---	-----	---

6.10.16 ctd.

6.10.16 ctd.

DD 6.10.16

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
- noisy*	x	3	x	f c	-

Note also:

IV. Cf. Note IV. to 6.10.2

6.11.19 M1 /o/ + /r/: SSE /3/

Note:

II. Ce [colonel]

Section 7: M1 /u/7.1.4 M1 /u/ + /p/: SSE /ɪ/

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
sweep* v.	3	3	3	a -	-

7.2.4 M1 /u/ + /p/: SSE /ɪ/

sip v.	3	3	x	b g	(+)
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7.2.5 M1 /u/ + /t/: SSE /ɪ/

hitch v. (shrug)	6.2.5	3	x	f g	-
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7.2.6 M1 /u/ + /k/: SSE /ɪ/

chick(ie)*	5.2.6	3	3	d -	-
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7.2.7 M1 /u/ + /m/: SSE /ɪ/

swim* v.	3	3	3	a -	-
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7.2.20 M1 /u/ in open syllable: SSE /ɪ/

- fill* n.	2	x	x	e d	-
------------	---	---	---	-----	---

Note also:

III.-fill* n. E: only in "get your foo'" (get your fill).

7.3.6 M1 /u/ + /k/: SSE /e,ε/

DD 7.3.6

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
[shaken p.p.	3	3	3	a -	+]]

Note also:

II. Ce [taken]

7.3.20 M1 /u/ in open syllable: SSE /u/

Note:

I. "grey(hound)"* S 3

7.5.1 M1 /u/ + /b/: SSE /^/

bubble	1	x	x	e d	-
double a.	3	3	3	a -	+
rubble n.	3	3	3	a -	-
trouble	3	x	x	e d	-

7.5.2 M1 /u/ + /d/: SSE /^/

"fuddle" v.	1	3	3	a -	-
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Note also:

I. fudge v. (fake) EM 3

7.5.3 M1 /u/ + /g/: SSE /^/

Douglas	3	x	x	e d	-
juggle(r)	3	3	x	b g	-
jug	1	3	x	b g	-
nugget	3	x	x	e d	-

7.5.3 ctd.

7.5.3 ctd.DD 7.5.3

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
smuggler	1	x	x	e d	-
snug	3	x	x	e d	-
snuggle	3	x	x	e d	-

Note also:

I. bugger n. EM 3

II. Ce [tug*]

IV. S has no dialect forms in this section. E is the most consistent vernacular.

7.5.4 M1 /u/ + /p/: SSE /ʌ/

supple	3	3	3	a -	-
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7.5.6 M1 /u/ + /k/: SSE /ʌ/

- bulk* n.	1	2.5.6	x	e g	-
duck v.	3	3	3	a -	+
duck* n.	3	3	x	b g	-
stucco*	3	3	3	a -	+
suck v.	3	3	3	a -	+
sucker	3	3	3	a -	+
"tuck"* (a pull on a fishing line)	3	n.u.	3	c -	-

Note also:

I. pluck (viscera) E 1

II. Ce [duck n. (cloth)]

7.5.7 M1 /u/ + /m/: SSE /ʌ/DD 7.5.7

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
- culm	3	3	3	a -	-
plum	3	3	x	b g	+
summons n.	3	3	x	b g	-
thumb	3	3	3	a -	-
"thumbkins" (mitts with thumbs)	3	n.u.	n.u.	e -	-

7.5.8 M1 /u/ + /n/: SSE /ʌ/

funds* n.pl.	2	2	x	b g	-
lunge n., v.	3	n.u.	x	e g	-
plunge	x	3	x	f c	-

Note also:

III. funds* n.pl. EM: only in "kirk-foon(d)s" (church funds).

7.5.10 M1 /u/ + /v/: SSE /ʌ/

covet	6.5.10	3	x	f g	-
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7.5.12 M1 /u/ + /z/: SSE /ʌ/Note:

I. "fuzzled" (drunk) E 3

7.5.14 M1 /u/ + /f/: SSE /ʌ/

ruffian*	3	2.5.14	2.5.14	e -	-
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7.5.16 M1 /u/ + /s/: SSE /ʌ/DD 7.5.16

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
"blusterer" (a bully)	x	x	1	g b	-
fust(y)	3	3	3	a -	-
rust(y)	1	3	3	a -	-

7.5.17 M1 /u/ + /ʃ/: SSE /ʌ/

Prussia	3	3	x	b g	-
Russia	3	3	x	b g	-

Note also:

I. "plushed up" (spruced up) E 3

7.5.18 M1 /u/ + /l/: SSE /ʌ/

bulge v.	x	3	x	f c	-
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7.5.19 M1 /u/ + /r/: SSE /ʌ/

- smother*	2.5.11	1	1	d -	-
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7.6.1 M1 /u/ + /b/: SSE /o/

knob	x	x	3	g b	-
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7.6.2 M1 /u/ + /d/: SSE /o/Note:

I. - shoulder* E* 3
 - mouldy* a. E 1

7.6.3 M1 /u/ + /g/: SSE /o/DD 7.6.3

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
joggle v. (jog)	3	3	3	a -	-

7.6.5 M1 /u/ + /t/: SSE /o/

botch v. (bungle)	x	x	3	g b	-
- coulters*	3	n.k.	3	c -	-
- moult* v.	3	9.6.5	3	c -	-
poacher	x	3	x	f c	-

Note also:

I. brooch	E 3
- "jolter" (jolt)	E 3

7.6.7 M1 /u/ + /m/: SSE /o/

compliment	x	x	3	g b	-
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7.6.8 M1 /u/ + /n/: SSE /o/

[flown p.p. of fly	3	3	3	a -	-]
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Note also:

IV. Cf. also 9.6.8

7.6.10 M1 /u/ + /v/: SSE /o/

[proven p.p.	3	3	3	a -	-]
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7.6.11 M1 /u/ + /ð/: SSE /o/

- shoulder* n.	3	3	3	a -	-
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7.6.11 ctd.

7.6.11 ctd.DD 7.6.11

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
- smoulder* (of fire)	3	x	x	e d	-
- solder*	9.6.11	9.6.11	3	g -	-

7.6.12 M1 /u/ + /z/: SSE /o/

[chosen p.p.	2.6.12	3	3	d -	-]
"gosling"*	x	n.u.	3	g e	-

7.6.13 M1 /u/ + /l/: SSE /o/

boulder	3	3	x	b g	-
bowls (a game)	3	3	3	a -	+
bowl v. (play bowls)	3	3	3	a -	+
"goldie" (gold finch)	3	3	3	a -	-
mould (on food)	x	3	3	d e	-
mouldy*	3	3	3	a -	-
poultry	3	3	x	b g	-

Note also:

I. moult v. E* 3

II. Wt. E [gold]

7.6.19 M1 /u/ + /r/: SSE /o/

coarse	3	3	3	a -	-
course	3	3	3	a -	-
court n., v.	3	3	3	a -	+
pour	3	3	3	a -	+

7.6.19 ctd.

7.6.19 ctd.

DD 7.6.19

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
whore	3	3	3	a -	+

Note also:

- II. Wt. E [afford]
Wt. L, E [door]
Wt. L, E [sword*]
Wt. E [swore p.t.]

7.6.20 M1 /u/ in open syllable: SSE /o/

sew*	3	3	3	a -	-
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Note also:

- I. - "bureau"* (labour-exchange) EM 3

7.9.1 M1 /u/ + /b/: SSE /ʌu/ 1)

Note:

- I. Cowberryhill, Pl.N. E 3

7.9.2 M1 /u/ + /d/: SSE /ʌu/

aloud	3	3	3	a -	+
crowd n.	3	3	3	a -	-
loud	3	3	3	a -	+
proud	3	3	3	a -	+

Note also:

- I. powder E₂ 3

1) Note the rather high proportion of potential dialect forms for E* in DD 7.9.
(Cf. also fn. 1) for 3.4.19, p. 166)

Note:

- I. Cowgate (Edin.street) E 3
 Howgate, Pl.N. E 3

7.9.5 M1 /u/ + /t/: SSE /ʌu/

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
about	3	3	3	a -	+
clout (washing cloth)	3	3	3	a -	-
couch n.	3	3	x	b g	-
crouch	3	3	3	a -	+
doubt	3	3	3	a -	+
"lout" (to stoop, curtsey)	3	n.u.	3	c -	-
lout n.	x	3	x	f c	-
out	3	3	3	a -	+
pout	3	3	x	b g	+
snout	3	3	3	a -	+
spout	3	3	3	a -	+
sprout v.	3	3	3	a -	-
sprouts n.pl.	3	3	2.9.5	b -	-
stout	3	3	3	a -	+
throughout	3	3	3	a -	-

Note also:

- I. drought* E*3
 pouch EM 3
 voucher M 3
 without* E 3

- IV. sprout v.: cf. also 2.9.5.

7.9.8 M1 /u/ + /n/: SSE /ʌ/DD 7.9.8

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
account	3	3	3	a -	+
allowance*	3	3	3	a -	+
amount	x	3	x	f c	+
announce	1	x	x	e d	-
around	3	3	3	a -	+
boundary	3	3	3	a -	-
brown	3	3	3	a -	+
council	3	3	3	a -	+
counsel	3	3	3	a -	-
count	3	3	3	a -	+
county	3	3	3	a -	+
crown n.	3	3	3	a -	+
down	3	3	3	a -	+
drown	3	3	3	a -	+
founder* v.	3	3	n.u.	b -	-
foundling	3	x	x	e d	-
frown v.	3	3	3	a -	+
gown	3	3	3	a -	+
lounge v.	3	3	3	a -	-
pronounce	x	3	x	f c	-
round	3	3	3	a -	+
scrounge	1(2).9.8	3	x	f g	-
sound n., v., a.	3	3	3	a -	+
town	3	3	3	a -	+

7.9.8 ctd.

7.9.8 ctd.

DD 7.9.8

Note also:

I.	confound	EM 3	flounder v.	EM 3
	count(ess)	E 3, M 3	profound	E 3, M 3
	dumbfounder*	E 3, M 3	scoundrel	E 3, M 3
	expound	E 3	surround	E 3, M 3
II.	Wt. L, E [bounty]			

7.9.11 M1 /u/ + /ð/: SSE /ʌu/

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
- powder*	3	3	3	a -	-

7.9.12 M1 /u/ + /z/: SSE /ʌu/

drowsy	3	3	3	a -	-
rouse v.	3	3	3	a -	-
thousand*	3	3	3	a -	+

Note also:

I. souse* v. (salt herring) M 3

7.9.15 M1 /u/ + /θ/: SSE /ʌu/

- drought*	3	3	3	a -	-
mouth*	3	3	3	a -	+
south	3	3	3	a -	+

7.9.16 M1 /u/ + /s/: SSE /ʌu/

house	3	3	3	a -	+
louse	3	3	3	a -	-
mouse	3	3	3	a -	+

7.9.16 ctd.

7.9.16 ctd.DD 7.9.16Note also:

I. - drowse* v. E 1

7.9.18 M1 /u/ + /l/: SSE /ʌu/

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
bowel*	x	3	x	f c	-
foul a.	x	3	x	f c	-
owlet*	3	3	3	a -	-
scowl	x	x	3	g b	-
towel*	3	3	3	a -	+

Note also:I. cowl n. E 1, M 3
Fowler, Pers.N. E 3

II. Ce [fowl n.]

7.9.19 M1 /u/ + /r/: SSE /ʌu/

Aberdour*, Pl.N.	3	3	3	a -	+
coward*	3	3	3	a -	+
flour	3	3	3	a -	+
flower*	3	3	3	a -	+
hour*	3	3	3	a -	+
our	3	3	3	a -	+
power	3	3	3	a -	+
shower	3	3	3	a -	+
sour	3	3	3	a -	+

7.9.19 ctd.

7.9.19 ctd.DD 7.9.19Note also:

I. powerful* E 3, M 3

II. Ce [scour]

7.9.20 M1 /u/ in open syllable: SSE /[^]u/

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
allow	3	3	3	a -	-
bow v.	3	3	x	b g	-
bow n. (of ship)	x	3	3	d e	-
brow	3	3	3	a -	+
cow	3	3	3	a -	+
how	3	3	3	a -	+
- mouth*	2	2	2	a -	-
plough	3	3	3	a -	+
sow n.	3	3	3	a -	-

Note also:II. Ce [thou]
Wt. L, E [vow]

III. mouth* EMS: only in "keep your moo shut!"

7.11.19 M1 /u/ + /r/: SSE /³/

courteous	3	3	3	a -	-
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Section 8: M1 /εɪ, ae/8.1.1 M1 /εɪ, ae/ + /b/: SSE /ɪ/Note:

II. Ce [glebe]

8.2.5 M1 /εɪ, ae/ + /t/: SSE /ɪ/

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
slit v.	x	x	3	g b	-

Note also:

I. Little, Pers.N. S 1

8.2.6 M1 /εɪ, ae/ + /k/: SSE /ɪ/

pick v.	3	3	x	b g	-
tick (bed tick)	3	3	3	a -	-

8.2.7 M1 /εɪ, ae/ + /m/: SSE /ɪ/Note:

II. Ce [limpet n.]

8.2.12 M1 /εɪ, ae/ + /z/: SSE /ɪ/Note:

I. - advertisement* E* 3

8.2.18 M1 /εɪ, ae/ + /l/: SSE /ɪ/

DD 8.2.18

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
- April*	x	3	1	d e	-

Note also:

IV. Cf. also 3.2.18

8.3.1 M1 /εɪ, ae/ + /b/: SSE /e, ɛ/

label	x	x	1	g b	-
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8.3.2 M1 /εɪ, ae/ + /d/: SSE /e, ε /

wade v.	3	3	x	b g	-
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8.3.5 M1 /εɪ, ae/ + /t/: SSE /e, ε/

Note:

II. H [slate]

8.3.8 M1 /εɪ, ae/ + /n/: SSE /e, ε/

change n., v.	3	3	x	b g	-
reins	3	x	1.3.8	e f	-

Note also:

I. chain n. E₂ 3
exchange EM 3

8.3.12 M1 /εɪ, ae/ + /z/: SSE /e, ε/

stays n.pl. (corset)	3	3	3	a -	+
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Note also:

I. raise E 1

8.3.14 M1 /εɪ ,ae/ + /f/: SSE /e,ε/

DD 8.3.14

Note:

I. Mayfield, Pl.N. S 3

8.3.18 M1 /εɪ ,ae/ + /l/: SSE /e,ε/

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
baillie	3	3	n.u.	b -	-
jail	3	3	x	b g	+
tailor	3	3	3	a -	-

8.3.19 M1 /εɪ ,ae/ + /r/: SSE /e,ε/

chair	x	3	3	d e	-
-------	---	---	---	-----	---

8.3.20 M1 /εɪ ,ae/ in open syllable: SSE /e,ε/

aye (always)	3	3	3	a -	-
bay n. (inlet)	x	3	x	f c	-
clay	3	3	3	a -	-
hay	3	3	3	a -	+
J (the letter)	3	3	3	a -	(+)
May	3	3	3	a -	-
pay	3	3	3	a -	+
way	3	3	3	a -	+
whey	3	3	3	a -	-

Note also:

II. Ce [stay v. (live, dwell)]

8.4.2 M1 /ɛɪ, ae/ + /d/: SSE /a,ɔ/

DD 8.4.2

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
plaid n.	x	3	3.4.2	f e	-

8.6.18 M1 /ɛɪ, ae/ + /l/: SSE /o/

collier*	x	3	3	d e	-
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8.10.2 M1 /ɛɪ, ae/ + /d/: SSE /oɪ/

avoid	x	3	x	f c	-
Boyd, Pers.N.	x	3	x	f c	-

8.10.5 M1 /ɛɪ, ae/ + /t/: SSE /oɪ/

loiter	x	3	x	f c	-
quoits	3	3	3	a -	-

Note also:

I. quoiter S 3

8.10.8 M1 /ɛɪ, ae/ + /n/: SSE /oɪ/

appoint(ment)	3	3	x	b g	-
Boyne, R.N.	x	3	x	f c	-
coin n.	x	3	x	f c	-
disappoint	3	3	3	a -	+
join(er)	3	3	3	a -	+
joint	3	3	x	b g	+
loin	3	x	x	e d	-

8.10.8 ctd.

8.10.8 ctd.DD 8.10.8

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
ointment	3	3	3	a -	+
point	3	3	x	b g	+

Note also:

I. "joinery" (joiner's workshop) E 3

8.10.12 M1 /ɛɪ,ae/ + /z/: SSE /oɪ/

poison* n.	3	5.10.13	5.10.17	e -	+
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Note also:

II. Wt. E [noise]

8.10.16 M1 /ɛɪ,ae/ + /s/: SSE /oɪ/

boisterous	x	3	x	f c	-
choice	1	3	x	b g	+
hoist* v.	3	3	1.10.12	b -	+
joist	3	1.10.16	1.10.16	e -	-
moist(en)*	3	x	x	e d	-
oyster	3	3	3	a -	-
voice	3	3	x	b g	+

8.10.18 M1 /ɛɪ,ae/ + /l/: SSE /oɪ/

boil v., n.	3	3	3	a -	+
broil	1	n.u.	x	e g	-
coil	3	3	x	b g	-

8.10.18 ctd.

8.10.18 ctd.

DD 8.10.18

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
oil	3	3	3	a -	+
soil n.	3	3	x	b g	-
spoil	3	3	3	a -	+
toil v.	1	3	x	b g	-

8.10.19 M1 /ɛɪ ,ae/ + /r/: SSE /or/

Note:

II. H [coir n.]

Section 9: M1 /ʌu/9.1.4 M1 /ʌu/ + /p/: SSE /ɪ/

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
leap	3	3	3	a -	-

9.1.5 M1 /ʌu/ + /t/: SSE /ɪ/

"neat" (cattle)	3	3	3	a -	-
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9.2.12 M1 /ʌu/ + /z/: SSE /ɪ/

drizzle	3	1.2.12	1.2.12	e -	-
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9.2.20 M1 /ʌu/ in open syllable: SSE /ɪ/Note:

II. Ce [fill* n.]

9.3.4 M1 /ʌu/ + /p/: SSE /e,ɛ/

gape (to stare)	3	3	x	b g	-
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9.3.19 M1 /ʌu/ + /r/: SSE /e,ɛ/

"glare" v.	3	3	3	a -	+
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9.4.2 M1 /ʌu/ + /d/: SSE /a,ɔ/

laudanum	x	3	x	f c	-
----------	---	---	---	-----	---

9.4.4 M1 /ʌu/ + /p/: SSE /a,ɔ/

DD 9.4.4

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
gap	x	3	x	f c	-

9.4.5 M1 /ʌu/ + /t/: SSE /a,ɔ/

naught	3	3	3	a -	-
--------	---	---	---	-----	---

Note also:

I. aught EM 3

9.4.16 M1 /ʌu/ + /s/: SSE /a,ɔ/

caustic (- soda)	1	3	x	b g	-
ghastly	x	3	x	f c	-

Note also:

I. exhausted M 3
- Oxnam*, Pl.N. S 3

9.4.20 M1 /ʌu/ in open syllable: SSE /a,ɔ/

thaw v.	1	x	3	c f	-
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Note also:

II. Wt. E, L [draw]

9.5.2 M1 /ʌu/ + /d/: SSE /ʌ/

huddle v.	2.5.2	3	2.5.2	f -	-
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9.5.3 M1 /ʌu/ + /g/: SSE /ʌ/

lug(-worm)	3	x	n.k.	e f	-
				<u>9.5.3 ctd.</u>	

9.5.3 ctd.DD 9.5.3Note also:

II. Ce [lug n. (ear)]
 Ce [puggy (monkey)]

9.5.4 M1 /ʌu/ + /p/: SSE /ʌ/

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
- gulp* v.	3	3	3	a -	+
sup n.	3	n.u.	1	c -	-

9.5.5 M1 /ʌu/ + /t/: SSE /ʌ/

smutty	x	3	x	f c	-
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9.5.6 M1 /ʌu/ + /k/: SSE /ʌ/

- skulk* v.	3	n.u.	x	e g	-
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9.5.8 M1 /ʌu/ + /n/: SSE /ʌ/

"stun"*	3	x	x	e d	-
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9.5.16 M1 /ʌu/ + /s/: SSE /ʌ/

fluster n., v.	3	3	2.5.16	b -	-
gusty (draughty)	3	3	x	b g	-

9.6.2 M1 /ʌu/ + /d/: SSE /o/ 1)

- gold*	3	3	x	b g	-
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9.6.2 ctd.

1) Note that in DD 9.6 (M1 /ʌu/: SSE /o/) many words which have a post-tonic /l/ in SSE drop the /l/ in M1.

9.6.2 ctd.DD 9.6.2

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
- Lothians*	x	x	3	g b	-
- mouldwarp*	3	(x)	3	c -	-
- mould* (of a plough)	3	n.k.	9.6.18	e -	-
["mowed"* p.p. (mown) 9.6.8	3	x		f g	-]

Note also:

I. - golden* E 1, M 3

IV. gold*: cf. also 9.6.18

9.6.3 M1 /ʌu/ + /g/: SSE /o/

dog	1	5.6.3	5.6.3	e -	-
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Note also:

II. Ce [Hogmanay]

9.6.4 M1 /ʌu/ + /p/: SSE /o/

"dopie"* n. (dunce)	3	x	3	c f	-
plop v.	x	x	3	g b	-
sloppy	x	3	x	f c	-

Note also:

I. Cope, Pers.N. E 1

II. Wt. L, E [hope]

9.6.5 M1 /ʌu/ + /t/: SSE /o/

- bolt* v.	3	3	n.u.	b -	-
- colt* n.	3	x	3	c f	-

9.6.5 ctd.

9.6.5 ctd.DD 9.6.5

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
- dolt*	3	3	x	b g	-
- moult* (shed feathers)	3	3	7.6.5	b -	-
- smolt*	x	3	3	d e	-

9.6.6 M1 /ʌu/ + /k/: SSE /o/

folk	1	x	x	e d	-
yolk	x	x	3	g b	-

9.6.8 M1 /ʌu/ + /n/: SSE /o/

[flown p.p. of flow	3	3	3	a -	-]
[flown p.p. of fly	7.6.8	7.6.8	3	g -	-]
[grown p.p.	3	3	3	a -	+]]
[mown* p.p. of mow	3	9.6.2	x	e g	-]
"own" (to claim)	x	3	n.u.	f e	-
owner	x	3	x	f c	-
pond	x	3	3	d e	-
pony	3	3	3	a -	-

Note also:

I. own up EM 3

9.6.11 M1 /ʌu/ + /ð/: SSE /o/

- solder*	3	3	3	a -	-
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Note also:

IV. Cf. also 7.6.11

9.6.14 M1 /ʌu/ + /f/: SSE /o/DD 9.6.14

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
- golf	1	3	x	b g	-
"scoff"	x	3	3	d e	-

9.6.15 M1 /ʌu/ + /θ/: SSE /o/

growth	3	3	3	a -	+
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9.6.16 M1 /ʌu/ + /s/: SSE /o/

- bolster*	3	3	3	a -	-
- holster*	3	n.k.	x	e g	-

9.6.18 M1 /ʌu/ + /l/: SSE /o/

bowl (basin)	3	3	3	a -	-
gold	3	9.6.2	x	e g	-
mould (mouldboard)	9.6.2	n.k.	3	g -	-
mould* (leaf -)	3	n.k.	3	c -	-
moulder	3	3	3	a -	-
soul	3	3	3	a -	+

Note also:

II. N [hold]

9.6.19 M1 /ʌu/ + /r/: SSE /o/

four*	3	3	3	a -	+
- over*	3	3	3	a -	-

9.6.20 M1 /ʌu/ in open syllable: SSE /o/

DD 9.6.20

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
"bow" (town-gate)	3	3	3	a -	+
bow (- and arrow)	x	3	3	d e	-
"flow" (morass)	x	n.k.	3	g e	-
grow	3	3	3	a -	+
hoe n.	x	3	3	d e	-
- hole	3	x	3	c f	-
- "knoll"* (hill)	3	3	3	a -	+
- "poll"* (head)	3	3	1	a -	-
roe (of fish)	3	x	x	e d	-
- roll* v.	3	3	3	a -	(+)
row v.	3	3	3	a -	+
stow	3	3	3	a -	-
tow n.	3	3	3	a -	+
- troll v.	1	n.k.	3	c -	-

Note also:

I. - "boll" (a measure)	E 1
- enrol	E 1
"glow" n. (blaze)	E 3, M 3
sew	E ₂ E* +

9.7.4 M1 /ʌu/ + /p/: SSE /u/

scoop v.	2.7.4	3	2.7.4	f -	-
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9.7.5 M1 /ʌu/ + /t/: SSE /u/Note:

I. - pullet*	S 3
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9.7.8 M1 /ʌu/ + /n/: SSE /u/

DD 9.7.8

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
hewn* a.	3	3	x	b g	-

9.7.12 M1 /ʌu/ + /z/: SSE /u/

- loosen*	3	3	3	a -	-
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Note also:

IV. E* knows "lowsin'-time" (cessation from work)

9.7.16 M1 /ʌu/ + /s/: SSE /u/

gruesome	x	3	x	f c	-
loose	3	3	3	a -	-

9.7.19 M1 /ʌu/ + /r/: SSE /u/

tourist	x	3	x	f c	-
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Note also:

II. Ce [tour n.]

9.7.20 M1 /ʌu/ in open syllable: SSE /u/

chew v.	3	3	3	a -	+
ewe	3	3	3	a -	-
mew v. (of cat)	3	3	x	b g	-
strew	x	3	n.u.	f e	-
yew	3	3	3	a -	-

Note also:

II. Wt. L [dough]

9.10.16 M1 /ʌu/ + /s/: SSE /oɪ/

DD 9.10.16

Note:

I. Royston, Pl.N. E 3

9.10.20 M1 /ʌu/ in open syllable: SSE /oɪ/

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
buoy	x	3	x	f c	-

Section 10: M1 /or/10.4.19 M1 /or/ + /r/: SSE /a,ɔ/

	E	M	S	D SSE	E*
- reservoir*	3	3	3	a -	+

c) Some Tentative Statistical Remarks and Trends

Introductory Remarks to Tables and Graphs I - III

There are 18 columns:

<u>col. 1</u>	indicates the vowels, diphthongs or consonants concerned.
<u>col. 2</u>	gives the total number of Unchanged [UI] ¹⁾ , Comparative and additional Changed Items [ChI] ²⁾ in which the sound in col. 1 occurs.
<u>col. 3</u>	gives the relative frequency of the particular sound (number of occurrences compared with the total number of all stressed vowels and diphthongs (or post-tonic consonants) in the corpus (purple spiked line).
<u>col. 4</u>	the number of items in the Comparative Table [CT] in which E* has a dialect form.
<u>col. 5</u>	the percentage of the previous figure in relation to all CI (col. 15) (purple broken line).
<u>col. 6, 9, 12</u>	number of items in which EMS have dialect forms in the CT.
<u>col. 7, 10, 13</u>	[%(1)] the percentage of the previous figures for EMS as against the figure in col. 2 (red, green, yellow continuous lines).
<u>col. 8, 11, 14</u>	[%(2)] the percentage of the figures in col. 6, 9, 12 as against the figure in col. 15 (red, green, yellow broken lines).

ctd. p. 245

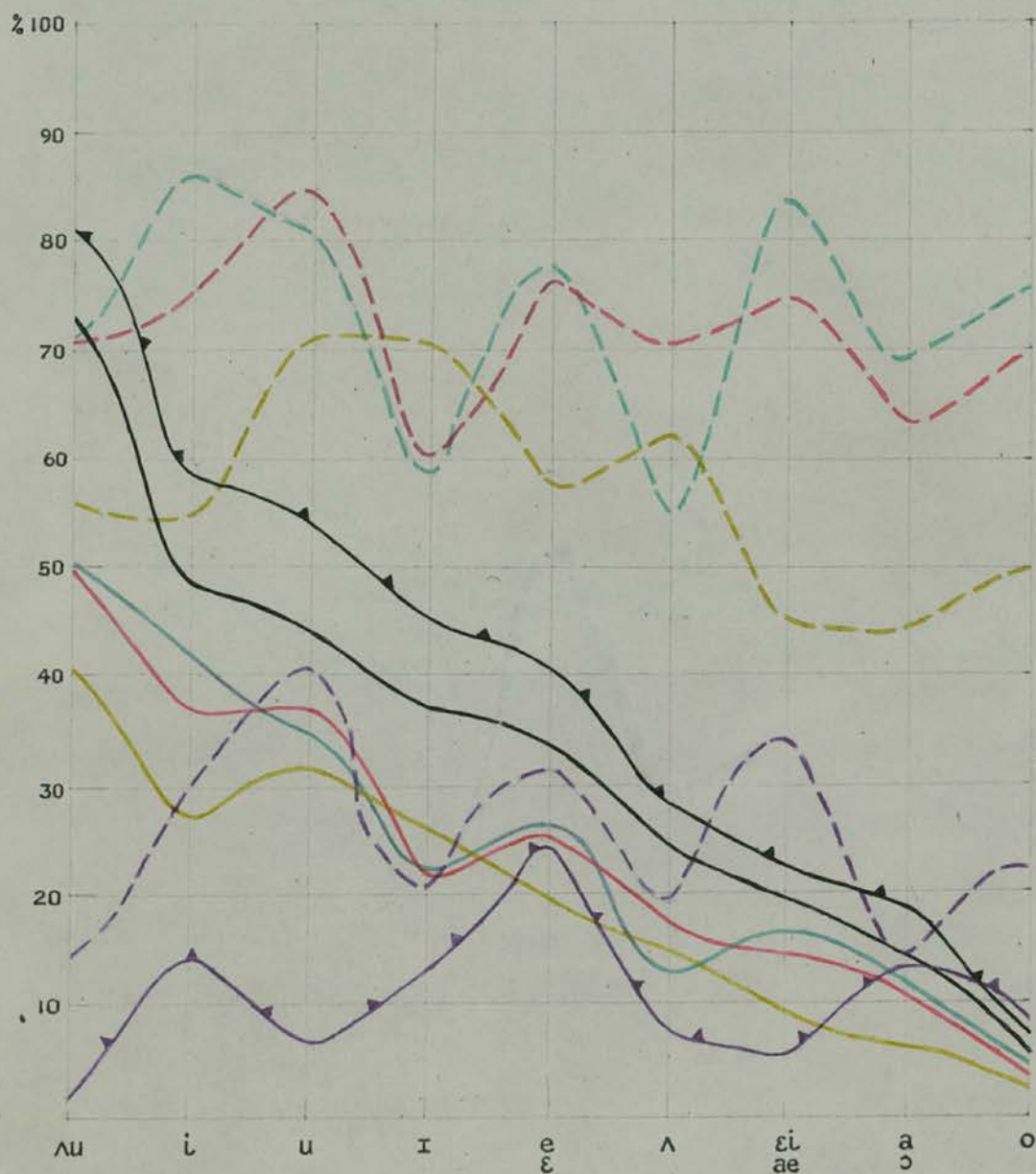
1) Cf. p. 61

2) Cf. p. 100

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
			Еж		Е				М			С					
			по. %		по. % (1) % (2)				по. % (1) % (2)			по. % (1) % (2)			CI %		chI %
		III+ChI %															
Аи	112	23	12	15.2	56	50.0	70.9	56	50.0	70.9	45	40.2	56.9	79	70.3	91	81.3
Л	661	13.6	97	30.1	244	36.9	75.8	277	41.9	86.0	179	27.1	55.6	322	48.7	387	58.5
и	329	6.6	58	40.3	122	37.1	84.7	118	35.9	81.9	102	31.0	70.8	144	43.8	177	53.8
И	657	13.5	50	20.2	148	22.5	60.0	147	22.4	59.5	175	26.6	70.9	247	37.6	298	45.4
е	1208	24.9	123	30.4	311	25.7	76.9	316	26.2	78.2	235	19.5	58.2	404	33.4	486	40.2
Л	357	7.4	17	19.8	61	17.1	70.9	48	13.4	55.8	54	15.1	62.8	86	24.1	104	29.1
ЕЛ	264	5.4	18	34.6	39	14.8	75.0	44	16.7	84.6	24	9.1	46.2	52	19.7	61	23.1
де	664	13.7	16	15.1	68	10.2	64.2	74	11.1	69.8	48	7.2	45.3	106	16.0	131	19.7
о	453	9.3	7	23.3	21	4.6	70.0	23	5.1	76.7	15	3.3	50.0	30	6.6	37	8.2

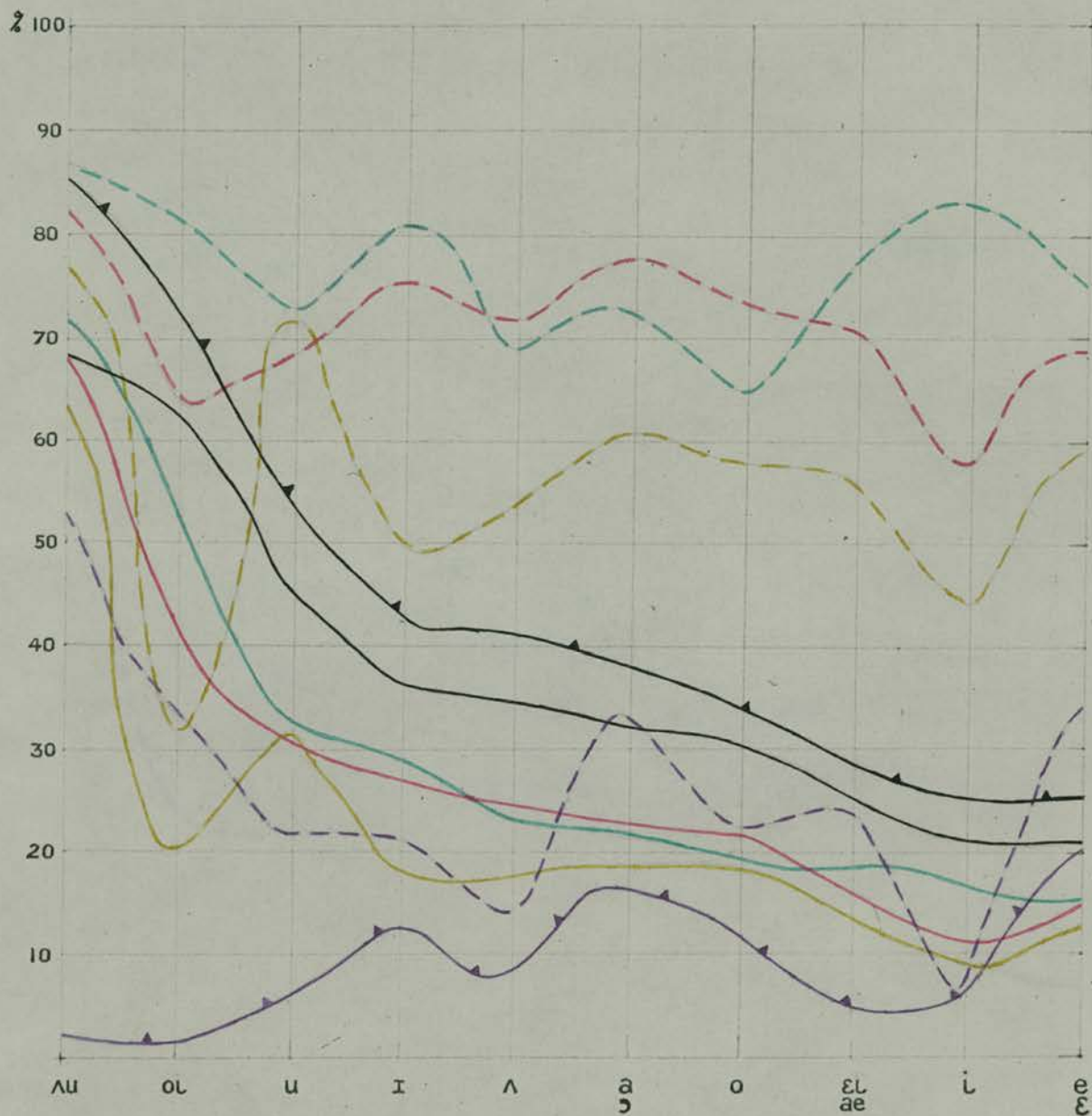
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	
	UI-OI %		E* no. %		E no. % (1) % (2)		M no. % (1) % (2)		S no. % (1) % (2)		CI %		CHI %					
AU	137	2.8	49	52.1	78	67.8	82.9	81	70.4	86.2	73	63.5	77.6	94	68.6	116	84.7	
OL	61	1.3	13	34.2	24	39.4	63.2	31	60.8	81.6	12	19.7	31.6	38	62.3	43	70.5	
U	309	6.4	29	21.0	94	30.4	68.1	101	32.7	73.2	101	32.7	73.2	138	44.7	157	50.8	
I	635	13.1	51	21.8	178	28.0	76.1	191	30.0	81.6	116	18.3	49.6	234	36.9	276	43.5	
A	425	8.8	21	14.4	106	24.9	72.6	101	23.8	69.2	79	18.6	64.1	146	34.4	172	40.5	
g	878	18.1	94	34.9	208	23.7	77.3	197	22.4	73.2	166	18.9	61.7	269	30.6	345	39.3	
O	631	13.0	44	23.0	143	22.7	74.9	124	19.7	64.9	126	20.0	66.0	191	30.3	215	34.1	
EL de	287	5.9	18	25.0	51	17.8	70.8	56	19.5	71.8	42	14.6	58.3	72	25.1	84	29.3	
L	368	7.6	6	7.8	45	12.2	58.4	65	17.7	84.4	34	9.2	44.2	77	20.9	94	25.5	
e C	981	20.2	74	36.6	189	14.2	68.8	154	15.7	76.2	121	12.3	59.9	202	20.6	259	26.4	

GRAPH I
(Based on table I)



—	MI CI	16
▲	MI Ch I	18
▲	Rel. Frequency	3
—	(E)	7
—	(M)	10
—	(S)	13
- - -	(E)	8
- - -	(M)	11
- - -	(S)	14
- - -	(E*)	5

GRAPH II
(Based on table II)

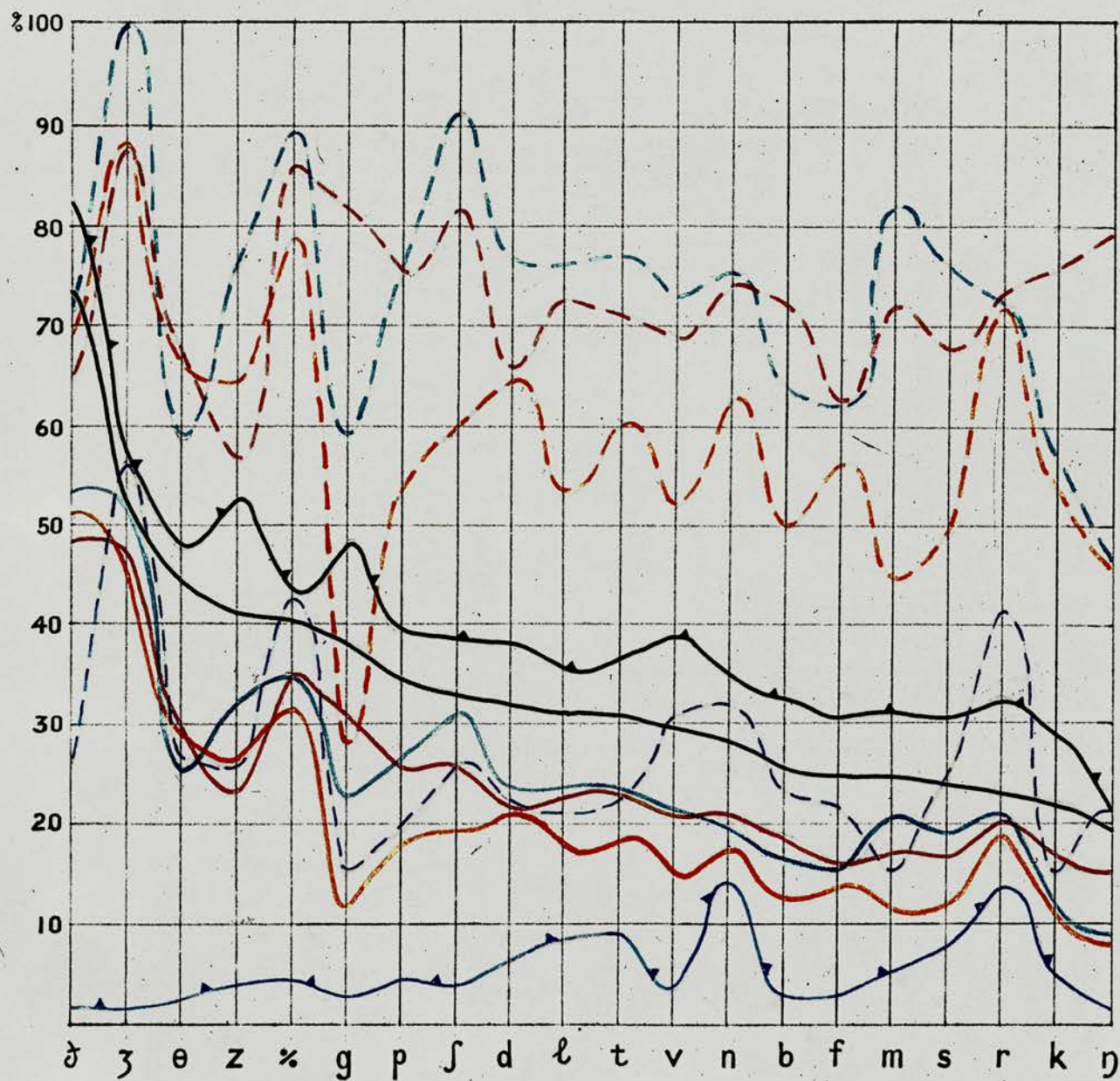


—	MI CI	Col. 16
▲	MI ch I	18
▲	Rel. Frequency	3
—	(E)	7
—	(M)	10
—	(S)	13
- - -	(E)	8
- - -	(M)	11
- - -	(S)	14
- - -	(E*)	5

TABLE III

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
	UI+ CH	%	E*	%	no.	E	% (1) % (2)	no.	M	% (1) % (2)	no.	S	% (1) % (2)	CI	%	CHI	%
δ	45	0.9	9	27.2	22	48.9	66.6	24	53.3	72.7	23	51.1	69.7	33	73.3	37	82.2
3	17	0.4	6	66.6	8	47.1	88.8	9	52.9	100	8	47.1	88.8	9	52.9	10	58.8
θ	50	1.0	6	27.3	15	30.0	68.2	13	26.0	69.1	15	30.0	68.2	22	44.0	24	48.0
Z	154	3.2	17	27.0	36	23.4	57.1	48	31.2	76.2	41	26.2	65.1	63	40.9	81	52.6
%	206	4.2	35	42.2	72	35.0	86.7	74	35.9	89.0	65	31.6	79.4	83	40.3	90	43.7
g	135	2.8	8	15.4	43	31.9	82.7	31	22.9	59.6	15	11.1	28.8	52	38.5	66	48.9
p	212	4.4	14	19.2	56	26.4	76.7	56	26.4	76.7	39	18.4	53.4	73	34.4	84	39.6
∫	147	3.0	13	26.5	40	27.2	81.6	45	30.6	91.8	29	19.7	59.2	49	33.3	58	39.5
d	337	6.9	24	22.2	72	21.2	66.7	84	24.9	77.7	70	20.8	64.8	108	32.1	131	36.9
ℓ	416	8.6	27	20.4	96	23.1	72.7	101	24.3	76.5	72	17.3	54.5	132	31.7	148	35.6
t	435	9.0	31	22.9	96	23.7	71.0	105	24.1	77.7	81	18.6	60.0	135	31.0	165	37.9
v	156	3.2	14	30.4	32	20.5	69.6	34	21.8	73.9	24	15.4	52.1	46	29.5	62	39.7
n	651	13.4	61	33.3	136	20.9	74.3	138	21.2	75.4	115	17.7	62.8	183	28.1	232	35.6
b	131	2.7	8	23.5	25	19.1	73.6	22	16.8	64.7	17	13.0	60.0	34	25.9	44	33.6
f	124	2.6	7	21.9	20	16.1	62.5	20	16.1	62.5	18	14.5	56.2	32	25.8	38	30.6
m	264	5.4	11	16.7	47	17.8	71.2	54	20.5	81.8	30	11.4	45.5	66	25.0	81	30.7
s	342	7.0	22	25.9	58	16.9	68.2	66	19.3	77.6	42	12.3	49.4	85	24.9	104	30.4
r	633	13.0	71	40.5	128	20.2	73.1	129	20.4	73.7	126	19.9	72.0	175	24.5	209	33.0
k	303	6.2	11	15.3	54	17.8	75.0	42	13.9	58.3	39	12.9	54.2	72	23.8	88	29.0
η	96	2.0	4	21.0	15	15.6	79.0	9	9.4	47.4	9	9.4	47.4	19	19.8	21	21.9

GRAPH III
(Based on table III)



MI CI	16
MI ChI	18
Rel. Frequency	3
(E)	7
(M)	10
(S)	13
(E)	8
(M)	11
(S)	14
(E*)	5

ctd. from p. 239

- col. 15 the number of Comparative Items [CI], i.e. items which occur in the Comparative Tables [CT]. (I have also called the former M1 CI.)
- col. 16 the percentage of the previous figure as against the figure in col. 2 (black continuous line).
- col. 17 the number of all distributional differences [ChI] consisting of the CI and additional words in footnotes type I.
- col. 18 the percentage of the previous figure as against the figure in col. 2 (black spiked line).

Comments

The information presented in tables I - III can be used for various statistical purposes. In the following I will try to give a rather tentative picture of some aspects which emerge from my material. I should like to stress, however, that everything I say ought to be subjected to a close scrutiny when the information has been programmed. Although great care has been taken to count as accurately as possible, it must be pointed out that the analysis of my data was not undertaken with a view to using them for the present purpose¹⁾. In

1) Note especially that I will speak in this section of (number of) "items" or "entries" or "differences", not "words", because I have not been consistent in conflating words and their derivations, and some words occur several times in various Sections of Distributional Differences. - It has also been necessary to make a few last minute corrections in the preceding comparative section which are not considered in my counts.

spite of these shortcomings the general trends which emerge are interesting and will not greatly vary with increased refinement of method. I will restrict myself to looking at the data from the dialect pole.

I have pointed out above (chapter III, B, b (lists)) in the footnotes of type IV, where E, M, and S differ from each other in distribution (cf. e.g. 6.10.2 and 6.10.16 Musselburgh). Here I will take a look at the over-all situation.

I have found altogether 1773 potential primary feature distributional differences in stressed vowels and diphthongs in the county of Midlothian. - Out of these there is full comparative information on 1471 items which I call Comparative Items [CI]. The participation of the investigated vernaculars is as follows:

1. Musselburgh	1104	out of 1471	75.1%
2. Edinburgh E	1071	" " "	72.8%
3. Stow	878	" " "	59.7%
4. Edinburgh E*	399	" " "	27.1%

This confirms my general impression of my informants with E and M heading the list, E* showing the decay of dialect in Edinburgh in the younger generations (cf. Introduction p. 19) and S holding a position in the middle.

The total of common core lexical entries (Unchanged Items and all¹⁾ Distributional Differences (or Changed Items [CHI])) is 4854.²⁾

1) consisting of CI and items in footnotes type I.

2) But cf. reservations made in fn. 1) (p. 245).

As I have said before about Unchanged Items these were not all tested and known in all vernaculars, because I have stretched the limits of "common core" rather far. When looking at the following set of figures, it should therefore be remembered that the proportion of dialect in the common core vocabulary is for that reason somewhat higher. I now want to compare the figures in the preceding paragraph with the total of common core lexical entries:

potential primary feature				
Distributional Differences	1773	out of	4854	36.5%
Comparative Items	1471	"	"	33.9%
CI Musselburgh	1104	"	"	22.7%
CI Edinburgh E	1071	"	"	22.1%
CI Stow	878	"	"	18.1%
CI Edinburgh E*	399	"	"	8.2%

The following are the figures for dialect forms in the CT occurring in one or a combination of more than one of the vernaculars E, M, S.

a = E + M + S	611 Items
b = E + M	230 "
c = E + S	47 "
d = M + S	83 "
e = E	183 "
f = M	180 "
g = S	137 "

Leaving aside the 611 items in which E, M, and S agree, note that the affiliation between E and M (230) is much stronger

than between M and S (83) and E and S (47)¹⁾. The number of items which only occur in E (183) and M (180) is higher than for S (137), but the latter should be compared with the lower total number of dialect items for S.

There are three further problems which I have selected out of the many possible ones to show the main trends evolving from my data.

Problem I

(see graph I based on table I)

Looking at the evidence from the dialect pole:

a) If we consider a certain stressed dialect vowel or diphthong²⁾, say no. 9 / \wedge u/, what is the proportion of items which correspond to ("are changed from") various SSE sources in relation to the total number of items (changed and unchanged) in which / \wedge u/ occurs in the dialect? This is to be calculated for Ml³⁾ and for the individual vernaculars (E, M, S). (Cf. Introductory Remarks, col. 16, 18, 7, 10, 13.)

e.g. no. 9 / \wedge u/.

Total number of items in the corpus 112.

Of these "changed" Ml 79 (70.5%), E 56 (50%),

M 56 (50%) etc.

1) Cf. the quotation from Grimm p. 58 .

2) I have not included /oɪ/ and /ɜ/.

3) Ml in the sense of dialect forms recorded in the county of Midlothian.

Comments on graph I. On graph I the continuous lines represent the percentages concerned. M1 CI (col. 16) shows an uninterrupted decrease, because I have arranged the dialect vowels on the horizontal axis in this way. The black spiked line is based on all M1 ChI (col. 18) and confirms the previous findings.

EMS run more or less parallel and also show a general decreasing tendency. The reader can easily pick out the position of a vernacular with regard to a certain vowel or diphthong.

The spiked purple line gives the relative frequency of occurrence for any of the dialect vowels. Note that most changed items occur in / \wedge u/ which is the least frequent vowel (2.3%). All findings should be related to this line.

b) What is the proportion in each vernacular for each stressed dialect vowel or diphthong of changed items in the CT against all CI? (Introductory Remarks col. 5, 8, 11, 14).

e.g. no. 9 / \wedge u/

E has 56 changed out of a possible number of 79 (70.9%), so has M; S has 45 (56.9%), E* 12 (15.2%) etc.

Comments on graph I (broken line). E and M show again rather similar tendencies except for / \wedge / where E and S are higher than M. M fluctuates more than the other two and shows a larger percentage for /u/ and / ɪ /. E* follows the general trend of EM (at a lower part of the scale) and shows its maxima for /u/, / ɛɪ , ae/, and /e, ɛ /.

Problem II

(see graph II based on table II)

Looking at the data from the SSE pole:

a) What is the proportion for a particular SSE stressed vowel or diphthong¹⁾, say /[^]u/, of items which can be changed into dialect in relation to the total number of items in which /[^]u/ occurs in SSE? This is to be calculated for M1 and for E, M, and S. (Cf. Introductory Remarks, col. 16, 18, 7, 10, 13.)

Comments on graph II (continuous lines). The items on the horizontal axis have been arranged in such a way as to give a steadily decreasing line for M1 CI. M1 ChI confirms the findings of M1 CI, but shows that for /[^]u/ and /oɪ/ the percentage can be even higher. E and M run fairly close together. S shows considerable deviations from E and M for /oɪ/, /ɪ/, and /[^]/. - Note that the percentage of change is high for /[^]u/, /oɪ/ which have a low relative frequency.

b) What is the proportion in each vernacular for each stressed SSE vowel or diphthong of changed items in the CT as against all CI? (Cf. Introductory Remarks, col. 5, 8, 11, 14.)

Comments on graph II (broken lines). E and M run fairly close together. Notice the deviations at /oɪ/ and /ɪ/. S resembles E at a lower part of the scale, but deviates

1) /ɜ/ has not been considered. I have also included some items in which a non-tonic SSE vowel corresponds to a stressed M1 one.

considerably at /oɪ/, and /ɪ/. E* shows maxima at /ʌu/, /a,ɔ/, /e,ɪ/ and drops to its lowest point at /i/ (like E and S).

Problem III

(see graph III based on table III)

Looking at the post-tonic consonants and zero from the dialect pole:

a) What is the proportion of items with changed (= dialect) vowels and diphthongs (in front of a particular post-tonic consonant) as against the total number of items (changed and unchanged) having this particular consonant in post-tonic position? This is to be calculated for M1 and for the individual vernaculars (E, M, S). (See Introductory Remarks, col. 16, 18, 7, 10, 13.)

e.g. no. 11 /ʃ/

Total number of items in corpus 45. Of these 33 (73.3%) can have a "changed" vowel in front of /ʃ/ for M1; 22 (48.9%) for E; 24 (53.3%) in M etc.

Comments on graph III (continuous lines). The post-tonic consonants and zero have been arranged in such a way as to give a steady decrease for M1 CI. The M1 ChI line suggests that there will be minor changes in this order if more items were considered. EMS run fairly parallel.

Note the purple spiked line which gives the relative

frequency of each post-tonic consonant and zero: high percentages in changed items often occur before rather low frequency consonants.

b) What is the proportion in each vernacular for each post-tonic consonant of changed items in the CT in relation to all CI? (Cf. Introductory Remarks, col. 5, 8, 11, 14.)

Comments on graph III (broken lines). EM show more divergencies from each other than in the two previous graphs: Note especially the situation at /z, g, k, ɲ/. - M diverges considerably from E and S at /θ, g, m/.

C. Non-tonic Syllables

a) Introductory Remarks

In this and all remaining sections of chapter III I have not used Comparative Tables [CT] but have just indicated behind each item, where it was asked and whether or not I got a response which could be classified under the heading under which the item occurs:

e.g. uV 1.2

M1 non-tonic /i/ corresponds to SSE non-tonic /ɪ/

active ES-, M

M has /'aktiv/

ES-: The answers of E /ak'tiv/
 (with change of stress)

and S /'aktiv/ (SSE)

do not apply here.

b) Change in non-tonic vowel

uV 1.2 M1 /i/: SSE /ɪ/

active ES-, M
 aspirin* EMS
 bandit E-, M
 composite M-, E
 crevice* E
 discipline S-, EM
 editor S-, EM
 guitar E-, M
 hypochondria* MS-, E
 hypocrite* E
 infinite E-, M
 mischief* MS-, E
 necessity ES-, M

opposite
 parasite
 piano*
 positive
 precipice
 pyramid
 repetition*
 Robinson, Pers.N.
 situation
 spiritual*
 Stevenson*, Pers.N.
 syphilis*

uV 1.2

EMS
 ES-, M
 S-, EM
 EMS
 S-, EM
 E-, M
 E
 MS-, E
 ES-, M
 ES-, M
 S-, EM
 EMS

Most of the items are "hard" words. S prefers SSE forms.

uV 1.3 M1 /i/: SSE /e/

crematorium* S-, EM
 semolina* ES-, M
 underwear EM

uV 1.8 M1 /ɪ/: SSE /eɪ, ae/

uV 1.8

apologize	E-, M	occupy	EM
certify	EM	pacify*	E
exercise* n., v.	S-, EM	paralyze	EM
fertilizer	E-, M	qualify	EM
finance*	EM	reconciled*	MS-, E
glorify	EMS	sacrifice*	S-, EM
gratify*	EM	satisfy*	S-, EM
justify	EM	terrify	EMS
mesmerize* (confound)	M-, E		

All entries are "hard" words. Note the high proportion of words ending in "-fy" and "-ize".

uV 2.1 M1 /ɪ/: SSE /ɪ/

linseed*	EM-, S
----------	--------

uV 2.3 M1 /ɪ/: SSE /e, ɛ/

crematorium*	E*	semolina*	S-, EM
grimace*	EMS	serenade	M-, E
Lugate, Pl.N.	S	toothache*	EMS
represent	E	"yestreen"	S-, EM
reservoir*	MS-, E		

uV 2 (3).6 M1 /ɪ, e/: SSE /o/

almost	M-, ES
--------	--------

uV 2(3).6 ctd.

uV 2(3).6 ctd.uV 2(3).6

arrow*	EMS	lumbago*	EMS
barrow	EMS	marrow	EMS
bellow	E	narrow*	EMS
borrow	EMS	photo	EMS
burrow	EMS	piano*	EMS
cargo	EMS	pillow	EMS
coconut	EMS	Portobello*, Pl.N.	E
echo	S-, EM	Ratho, Pl.N.	E
elbow	EMS	shadow*	EMS
farrow*	EMS	shallow*	EM
foremost	EMS	sorrow	EMS
felloe	M-, ES	sparrow	EM
fellow*	EMS	stucco*	EMS
follow	EMS	swallow	EMS
furrow	EMS	tallow	EMS
gallows	EMS	tobacco*	EMS
Glasgow*	EMS	tomato	EMS
guano*	M-, ES	widow*	EMS
harrow	M-, ES	willow*	ES
hollow v., n.	EMS	window	EMS
Linlithgow*, Pl.N.	E	yellow	EMS

All entries show SSE /o/ in the post-tonic syllable. The dialect equivalents vary between /ɪ/ and /e/. I have in general preferred /ɪ/ in my transcription. M can have /ə/ in some cases. Most items are still regularly heard in the district. /o/ is retained in "flamingo" and "Bingo".

uV 2.4 M1 /ɪ/: SSE /a/

uV 2.4

grandfather E-, MS
Whiteadder, Pl.N. S

uV 2.5 M1 /ɪ/: SSE /ʌ/

chestnut	E	grandmother	EMS
dandruff	E-, MS	supplication	MS-, E
Dunbar, Pl.N.	E		

uV 2.7 M1 /ɪ/: SSE /u/ 1)

Andrew, Pers.N.	EM-, S	fingerstool	EMS
barefoot	EMS	[Tolbooth*]	Ce
bivouac	E		

uV 2.8 M1 /ɪ/: SSE /ɛɪ, ae/

advertize*	EM-, S	digest*	ES-, M
citation	E	inquiry*	ES-, M

uV 2.9 M1 /ɪ/: SSE /ʌu/

Airhouse*, Pl.N. S
Burnhouse*, Pl.N. S
Gladhouse*, Pl.N. S

These examples have the place-name suffix "-house".

1) For 2(3).6 see p. 255 .
It was erroneously put after uV 2.3.

uV 2(3).12 M1 /ɪ,e/: SSE /ə/

uV 2(3).12

asthma	EMS	Fala, Pl.N.	S
borough	EMS	Gouda, Pl.N.	E
china*	EMS	"polka"	EMS
dilemma*	S-, EM	semolina*	EMS
Dinah	EMS	soda	EMS
Edinburgh	EMS	thorough	EMS
etc.	EMS	umbrella*	EMS
extra	EMS		

All entries show SSE /ə/ in the post-tonic syllable. The dialect equivalents vary between /ɪ/ and /e/, but /ɪ/ seems to be more common. The dialect forms are still frequently heard in the district.

uV 3.1 M1 /e,ɛ/: SSE /ɪ/

oatmeal*	EM-, S
----------	--------

uV 3.4 M1 /e,ɛ/: SSE /a,ɔ/

afternoon*	EMS	rucksack	E-, MS
[bygone]	Ce	sanitation	E-, M
[Dalgetty, Pl.N.]	Ce	valuation*	EM-, S
grandfather	EMS	valuator*	EM-, S
Greenlaw*, Pl.N.	EM-, S	Whitelaw*, Pl.N.	S
Headshaw, Pl.N.	S	Wooplaw*, Pl.N.	S

Stow is most consistent. Note the place-name suffixes "-law" and "-shaw".

uV 3.7 M1 /e/: SSE /u/

uV 3.7

awful	EMS	lawful	EMS
bashful	EMS	mouthful*	E
careful	E	powerful*	EM
handful*	E	thoughtful*	EMS
into	EMS	useful*	EMS

All examples, except into, are of the unstressed suffix "-ful", /fe/. "Awful" has more often /ɪ/ or (M)/ə/.

uV 4.3 M1 /a/: SSE /e,ɛ/

everywhere* M-, ES

uV 5.3 M1 /ʌ/: SSE /e,ɛ/

[September] Ce

uV 5.4 M1 /ʌ/: SSE /ə/

[bygone] Ce

uV 5.6 M1 /ʌ/: SSE /o/

[vagabond] Ce

uV 6.7 M1 /o/: SSE /u/

gueno* M-, ES

uV 7.5 M1 /u/: SSE /ʌ/

uV 7.5

lumbago* S-, EM

uV 7.6 M1 /u/: SSE /ɔ/

bronchitis* EMS

[cockade] Ce

uV 7.9 M1 /u/:SSE /ʌu/

foundation* E(MS) however E

greyhound EM-, S outside EMS

uV 8.2 M1 /ɛɪə/: SSE /ɪ/

jasmine* E-, MS

uV 8.10 M1 /ɛɪə/: SSE /o/

gumboil EMS

c) Loss of non-tonic syllable

The syllable lost in dialect is underlined.

INITIAL

<u>a</u> gree	S-, EM	<u>e</u> stablish*	ES-, M
<u>A</u> merica*	S	<u>i</u> mpound*	S-, EM
<u>a</u> pprentice*	E	<u>i</u> ndeed	EMS
<u>a</u> rrest*	S-, EM	<u>i</u> noculate	ES-, M
<u>a</u> ttend	EMS	<u>i</u> nstead*	ES-, M
<u>a</u> ward* v.	EMS	<u>i</u> ntend	E-, MS
<u>b</u> eneath	E-, MS	<u>L</u> inlithgow*, Pl.N.	E
<u>b</u> eyond*	S-, EM	<u>p</u> otato*	EMS
<u>e</u> lastic*	EMS	<u>P</u> restonpans*, Pl.N.	M
<u>e</u> lectric	EMS	<u>t</u> obacco*	EMS
<u>e</u> ntice	ES-, M	<u>t</u> urnip*	EMS
<u>e</u> scape	ES-, M		

M is more consistent than E and S.

Loss of MEDIAL Vowel ¹⁾

<u>c</u> abinet*	S-, EM	<u>C</u> aroline Park (Edin.)	E
<u>c</u> araway*	EM	<u>e</u> quivalent*	EMS

ctd.

1) Some of the following items have syncopated forms in RP as well. (Cf. frivolous, marvellous). My comparison is with the unsyncopated form.

Loss of MEDIAL Vowel ctd.uSL, uVL

family*	EMS	peony*	E-, S
[female]	Wt. E	piecetime	E
foreigner	EMS	privilege*	(EM)S
frivolous*	ES-, M	similar*	EMS
go away*	MS-, E	situation*	ES-, M
Juniper Green*, Pl.N.	E	solicitor*	EM-, S
liquorice	E-, MS	Sorrowlessfield, Pl.N.	S
marvellous	EMS	syphilis*	EMS
paralysis*	EM		

Loss of MEDIAL Vowel plus Loss of Consonant [uSL]

alum	EMS	[mother*]	Ce N
Cockburnspath*, Pl.N.	S	natural*	S-, EM
come away*	M-, E	Nettlingflat, Pl.N.	S
devil*	EMS	never-do-well*	EMS
[evening*]	Ce	New Year's Day*	S-, EM
even on	E	particular*	EMS
even now*	EM, S-	practically	M ₂
ever*	ES-, M	probably	E**
fidgety*	EM	pullet*	M-, ES
given* p.p.	EMS	regular	EMS
harvest*	MS-, E	ridiculous*	EMS
irregular	EMS	savourless	MS-, E
January*	ES-, M	shovel*	E-, MS
mistaken	EMS	smother*	E-, MS

ctd.

Loss of MEDIAL Vowel plus Loss of Consonant [uSL] ctd. uSL, uVL

<u>taken</u> p.p.	EMS	<u>valuation</u> *	S
<u>thriven</u> p.p.	MS-, E	<u>valuator</u> *	S
<u>tuberculosis</u> *	E ₂		

FINAL

[<u>acquainted</u>	EMS] 1)	<u>ordinary</u>	S-, EM
<u>bachelor</u> *	E	[<u>pleaded</u> *	ES] 1)
<u>daffodil</u>	M-, ES	<u>Portobello</u> *, Pl.N.	E
" <u>glitter</u> "	S-, EM	<u>skeleton</u>	MS-, E
[<u>heated</u> *	ES] 1)		

Loss of Unstressed Vowel after Stressed Vowel or Diphthong. [uVL]

As mentioned in chapter II, I have in general disregarded /e/ after stressed vowels in front of the following consonant, because this phoneme is often dropped in the dialect. Thus diamond will appear in my code as 8.7, the stressed vowel being /ae/, the post-tonic consonant /m/. In this section I have selected a few examples of this kind and a few others to draw attention to this potential loss of an unstressed vowel. 2)

ctd.

1) inflected form

2) Not all entries have been marked uVL in the Index.

Loss of Unstressed Vowel after Stressed Vowel or Diphthong ctd.

Loss of /ə/ after M1 /ae/

Cf. bias, Bryan, diabetic, diabetis, diabolical, diagram, dial, diamond, diaper, diary, diet, giant, liable, lion, reliable, riot, trial, violet, violin, Zion.

Loss of /ə/ after M1 /u/

Cf. bowel*, coward*, cruel, fluent, gruel, shower*, towel*.

Loss of /ə/ after M1 /i/

Cf. ideal, theater.

Idea is the only example in my corpus in which the /ə/ is dropped in open syllable (EM).

Loss of /ə/ after M1 /oʊ/

Cf. royal.

Unstressed /ɪ/ disappears after M1 /o/ in:

poem, poet.

d) Addition of non-tonic syllable

The two consonants between which the unstressed vowel occurs in M1 are underlined.

alms ES-, M

caldron* ES-, M

Edrington*, Pl.N. S

southerne E-, MS

umbrella* S-, EM

In lozenge* (E-, MS) an unstressed syllable is added.

e) Dialect equivalents of SSE non-tonic syllables containing /j/

M1 Equivalents of SSE /ju/

uVj

There are three possibilities:

- 1) /j/ is lost and the vowel appears as /ɪ/, seldom as /e/ (e.g. continue M).
- 2) /j/ remains and the vowel appears as /ɪ/ or /ə/.
- 3) Both M1 and SSE have /ju/.

Cases in which /ju/ disappears completely have been included in uSL (see above).

	Loss of /j/	/jɪ, jə /	/ju/
accurate		E	
ague	EM		S
amputate	EM		S
argue	EMS		
argument	EMS		
conspicuous*		EM	
continue*	M	ES	
contribute*		M	
distribute*		E	MS
education	EMS		
granulated	M		E
impudence	EMS		
impudent	EMS		
individual*		M	ES

ctd.

M1 Equivalents of SSE /ju/ ctd.uVj

	Loss of /j/	/jɪ, jə /	/ju/
reputation	MS		E
spiritual*		MS	E
valuable*	EMS		
value*	S	E	M

M1 Equivalents of SSE /jə /

There are two possibilities:

- 1) /j/ is lost and the vowel appears as /ə/ ¹⁾ or /ɪ/.
- 2) M1 agrees with SSE /jə/. ²⁾

	Loss	/jə /
area	EMS	
audience	M	E
burial*	EM	
Cheviot, F.N.	EMS	
collier*	MS	E
companion*	M	ES
courteous*		EMS
creature*	EMS	
crematorium*	M	ES
curious*	MS	E

ctd.

1) Where /n/ follows SSE /-jə/, M1 often shows /n/.

2) M1 has /jɪ/ in hideous*, courteous*.

M1 Equivalents of SSE /jə/ ctd.uVj

	Loss	/jə/
Daniel*	EM	S
diphtheria	MS	E
Elliot, Pers.N.	MS	E
experience	M	E
failure	EM	S
familiar*	M	ES
feature	M	ES
fortune	EMS	
furniture	EMS	
gesture	EMS	
glazier*	EMS	
Heriot, Pl.N.	S	
hessian	M	
hideous*	M	ES
hypochondria*	E	
idiot*	EMS	
ill-natured	EMS	
India	M	ES
lawyer	M	ES
lectures	E ₂	
Lothians*	ES	M
Marion*	EMS	
mixture	EMS	

ctd.

M1 Equivalents of SSE /jə/ ctd.uVj

	Loss	/jə /
natural*	EMS	
nature	EMS	
picture	EMS	
pinions*	M	ES
pneumonia*	EMS	
rupture*	M	ES
serious*	M	ES
signature	S	EM
Spaniard*	M	ES
tedious	M	E
Teviot, R.N.	EM	
valiant*	M	ES
Victoria	EM	S
William*	EM	
terrier*	M	ES
torture	M	
[venture]	Ce	

This is a marker for M, where loss of /j/ occurs most consistently.

D. Consonants¹⁾a) Substitution of Consonant(s)²⁾ [CS]M1 /b/: SSE /p/

[baptise]	Ce
[baptism]	Ce
tepid*	EM-, S

The first two examples (from Ce) are possibly printer's mistakes.

M1 /d/: SSE /t/

[bottom]	Ce
[different*]	Ce
tingle	EMS

M1 /d/: SSE /ð/

clothe*	EMS	Lothians	EM-, S
clothing*	MS-, E	smithy n.	EMS
farthing	S-, EM	stithy* n.	EM-, S
[fathom]	Ce	withy n. (willow-tree)	MS-, E

Except for the first word, all changes take place in intervocalic position.

-
- 1) For conventions of marking occurrences see Introductory Remarks to the section "Non-tonic syllables".
 - 2) The grouping is from the dialect point of view and the order in which the consonants appear is the same in which they are described in ch. II: b, d, g, p, t, k, m, n, ŋ, v, ʃ, z, ʒ, f, θ, s, ʃ, l, r, w, j, ɹ, x, h. Combinations of consonants stand at the end of a group (e.g. /tʃ/ after /t/.)

M1 /d/: SSE /θ/CS

"earth"* S
path* M-, ES

M1 /g/: SSE /dʒ/

bridge EMS ridge MS-, E
[dredge] Ce [sedge] Wt.

M1 /g/: SSE /k/

candy* EMS excellent* E
"cravat"* EMS Exeter*, Pl.N. E

M1 /p/: SSE /t/

latrines* MS-, E

M1 /p/: SSE /f/

bump MS-, E
hump EMS
trump n. EMS

All changes in final position after /m/.

M1 /p.j/: SSE /n(j)/

pneumonia* MS-, E

M1 /t/: SSE /d/

[alder-tree*] Ce behind* EMS

ctd.

M1 /t/: SSE /d/ ctd.

CS

beyond*	S-, EM	stupid*	E-, MS
[fiend!]	Ce	timid*	S-, EM

I do not include examples of the ending "-ed" which in its syllabic form is either /-ɪt/ or /-ɪd/ (cf. p. 249 Vol. II).

M1 /t/: SSE /k/

quilt	EMS
-------	-----

M1 /t/: SSE /ʃ/

slithery	ES-, M
----------	--------

M1 /t/: SSE /θ/

Cathpair, Pl.N.	S	Hogarth, Pers.N.	EM-, S
fifth	E	Polwarth*, Pl.N.	S

M1 /tʃ/: SSE /dz/

adze*	E-, MS
-------	--------

I am not quite sure about the identification of /tʃ/ with /adz/.

M1 /tʃ/: SSE /dʒ/

cabbage	S
porridge*	EMS

Final /-dʒ/ is often devoiced, but in these two examples my informant seemed consistent in using /tʃ/.

M1 /k/: SSE /g/CS

Glasgow*	ES-, M	snigger v.	MS-, E
grease*	M-, ES	[trigger]	Ce
greasy*	M-, ES		

M1 /k/: SSE /t/

brittle	MS-, E
[twenty*]	Ce
two*	EMS-, M ₂

M1 /k/: SSE /tʃ/

bitch	MS-, E	churn*	EMS
birch	EMS	screech* v.	EMS
breeches*	EMS	stitch*	EMS
chaff	EMS	[stretch*]	Ce
[chalk]	Ce	such*	EMS
chest*	EMS	thatch	M-, ES
<u>church*</u>	EMS		

M1 /m/: SSE /b/

banana*	ES-, M
---------	--------

M1 /m/: SSE /n/

swoon	ES-, M
-------	--------

M1 /n/: SSE /k/

[spectacles]	Ce
--------------	----

M1 /n/: SSE /m/CS

[brimstone*] Ce
semolina* ES-, M

M1 /n/: SSE /ŋ/

among ES-, M
length EMS
strength EMS

To these examples most words with st. /-ɪŋ / "-ing" in post-tonic final position should be added.

M1 /n/: SSE /r/

garter* EMS

M1 /n/: SSE /l/

flannel* S-, EM

M1 /ɛ/: SSE /n/

sandwich EMS
span v. EM-, S

M1 /ŋ/: SSE /nj/

onion* EMS

M1 /ŋ/: SSE /ndʒ/

singe* v. EMS twinge* n. E
(- a sheep's head)

M1 /v/: SSE /t/CS

at all* EMS

M1 /v/: SSE /f/

"deafen"* EMS

[ferrule] Ce

stiffen v. SM-, E
(- with cold)M1 /v/: SSE /w/

caraway* EM

M1 /ɔ/: SSE /d/

adder* E-, MS

[rudder] Ce

bladder* EMS

shoulder* EMS

Edrington*, Pl.N. S

smoulder* MS-, E

eiderdown* E-, MS

solder* v. EMS

fodder EM-, S

Stoddart, Pl.N. S

ladder* EMS

udder EM-, S

Lauder, Pl.N. ES

West Calder*, Pl.N. S-, EM

powder* EMS

All changes take place in intervocalic position.

M1 /ɔ/: SSE /θ/

wreath* EM-, S

M1 /z/: SSE /s/CS

December	EMS	precentor	E-, MS
dose	EMS	souse*	M
fuss*	MS-, E	us*	EMS

M1 /z/: SSE /st/

hoist* v.	EM-, S
-----------	--------

M1 /z/: SSE /z/

[cousin*]	Ce	sneeze	EMS
[pheasant]	Ce	sneezing n. (snuff)	S-, EM
poison*	MS-, E		

M1 /f/: SSE /v/

calve v.	EMS	shovel*	M-, ES
halve v.	EMS	vane n.	EMS
save v.	MS-, E	vetches	EM-, S
scavenger*	EMS		

M1 /f/: SSE /θ/

sheath	E-, MS
--------	--------

M1 /θ/: SSE /t/

drought*	EMS
----------	-----

M1 /θ/: SSE /ð/CS

bathe*	EMS	seethe v.	E
blithe	EMS	smooth a.	S-, EM
ether*	M-, E?	swathe v.	E*
fathom	MS-, E	though	EMS
heathen*	M-, ES	(turning)-lathe*	EM-, S
lather	E-, M	within*	E
northern	E	without*	E
scythe	EMS		

For /s/ see next page.M1 /ʒ/: SSE /z/

poison*	ES-, M
squeeze	MS-, E

M1 /ʃ/: SSE /ʒ/

occasion	E ?
----------	-----

M1 /ʃ/: SSE /s/

asphalt	EM	greasy*	M-, ES
assume	MS-, E	gusset*	ES-, M
[cinder]	Wt. L	[licence*]	Ce
crease* v., n.	MS-, E	mince (- collops)	S-, EM
dubious*	M-, E	nervous*	E-, MS
ensue	E	pincers*	EMS
[fleece]	Ce	piss	EMS
grease*	M-, ES	[rustle*]	Ce

ctd.

M1 /ʃ/: SSE /s/ ctd.CS

sew*	EMS	spruce a. (neat)	M-, ES
sluice*	E-, M	sue v.	MS-, E
soon*	S-, EM	suet	S-, EM
sough* n. (ditch)	S	[suit*]	Wt. L, E

I found most examples in E.

M1 /s/: SSE /z/

blouse	S-, EM	loser*	EMS
causeway	EMS	lozenge*	EM-, S
drowse*	M-, E	noise*	MM ₂
excise*	EM	noisy*	MM ₂
exercise* v.	EM	resume	S-, EM
glazier*	S-, EM	sneezing n. (snuff)	EM-, S
lose*	EMS	wise	EMS

M1 /s/: SSE /ʃ/

ash	E-, MS
[bush*]	Ce
should	MS-, E

M1 /sk/: SSE /ʃ/

shelf	M
-------	---

M1 /l/: SSE /r/

[tinder]	Ce
----------	----

M1 /r/: SSE /d/

paddock* S

M1 /r/: SSE /l/

flail E-, M3

M1 /j/: SSE /d/

[jade*] Ce

M1 /j/: SSE /g/

gate EM-, S

M1 /j/: SSE /l/

[blue] Ce

[plough*] Ce

M1 /j/: SSE /w/

one* EMS

once* EMS

M1 /j/: SSE /h/

[herb] Wt. L, E

M1 /M/: SSE /k/

Torquhan*, Pl.N. S

M1 /m/: SSE /w/

CS

weasel EMS

"wizened" adj. S

M1 /m/: SSE /h/

who(se)* EMS

M1 /x/: SSE /k/

bracken* EM-, S local EM₂ S

hough EMS Michaelmas EM-, S

M1 /x/: SSE /f/

clough* EMS rafter E

[draught] Ce sough* n.(ditch) S

draught (- ewe) S tough* EMS

enough* EMS trough EMS

laugh S-, EM

M1 /x/: SSE /tʃ/

screech* EMS

M1 /h/: SSE /θ/

everything EMS

b) Loss of Consonant¹⁾CL/b/

amber	MS-, E	jumble*	MS-, E
bramble	EMS	mumble	EMS
Campbell, Pers.N. S		rumble*	EMS
chamber*	MS-, E	shamble	S-, EM
clamber	ES-, M	slumber	MS-, E
[Crombie, Pers.N.] Ce		thimble*	EMS
crumble	EMS	"timber-tuned"*	S-, EM
fumble	EMS	trembling	EMS
gamble(r)*	EMS	tumble	EMS
grumble	EMS	tumbler	EMS
humble	MS-, E		

Loss after /m/ in post-tonic position within one morpheme.

E is the most consistent vernacular. Note also: damboard* S
Turnbull* S
<*/trambəl//d/

[blind]	Wt. E	"child"*	EMS
blunder	S-, EM	cinders*	MS-, E
breadth*	ES-, M	custard (-powder)*	M
candle	EMS	depend	S-, EM
			<u>/d/ ctd.</u>

1) The consonants occur in the same order as in the description in ch. II (cf. fn. 2, p. 270).

dividend*	EM	lowland	EMS
dumfounder*	EM	Lumsdaine*, Pl.N.	S
dwindle	EMS	[mind n.]	Ce
Edgar*	E	mind v.	S-, EM
[find]	Wt. E	niggard*	EMS
founder*	S-, EM	[pound]	Wt. L, E
[friend*]	Wt.em.Sc.	Redpath*, Pl.N.	S
funds*	ES-, M	send	S-, EM
grindstone*	EMS	[sound]	Wt. E, L
[hand]	Wt. E	[spend]	Wt. E, L
handful*	E	spindle	EMS
handle	EMS	stand	EMS
hind*	EMS	stipend*	EM-, S
hinder v.	E	swindle	M-, E
hindmost*	EMS	thunder	EMS
"hound"* v.	EM-, S	trundle*	M-, ES
hundred*	S-, EM	[vagabond*]	Ce
kind* (of)	S-, EM	wander	S-, EM
[kind]	Wt. L	wind	MS-, E
kindle	EMS	windlass	EMS
[land]	Wt. E	windle	EMS
legend*	E-, MS	wonder	MS-, E
lend	S-, EM		

Most losses after post-tonic /n/. In word final position /d/ is more likely to be dropped if another word follows (cf. custard (powder), Lowland (Scotch)) than before pause.

/g /

CL

anger	S-, EM	mingle	EMS
angry	S-, EM	monger	EMS
finger	EMS		

These are just a few examples. The loss after /g/ in intervocalic position is quite consistent and occurs also in SSE (cf. p. 52). This section is not specially marked in the Index.

/p /

splash	E-, MS
--------	--------

/t /

act	ES-, M	[connect]	Ce
accept(ed)	E	contradict*	E-, MS
actual	ES-, M	convict n., v.	M
[affect]	Ce	correct	ES-, M
Aitkin, Pers.N.	EMS	Crookston, Pl.N.	S
bankrupt	EM-, S	currant	EMS
baste	ES-, M	debauch	E
bastmat	E-, MS	direct	S-, EM
beasts pl.	EMS	[drifter*]	Ce
cast* v.	ES-, M	eighth*	E-, MS
"casten"* p.p.	EMS	empty	S
collect	S-, EM	exact	S-, EM
conduct	ES-, M	exactly	S-, EM
conduit	E-, MS	except	S-, EM

/t / ctd.

/t / ctd.CL

fact	S-, M	respect	S-, EM
[fetch]	Ce	select	ES-, M
fetched* p.p.	E-, MS	shinty	MS-, E
going <u>to</u> *	EMS	strict	ES-, M
kept p.t.	E	subject n., v.	S-, EM
lightening*	EMS	tempt(ing)	EMS
moisten	EM-, S	tract	S-, EM
neglect	ES-, M	waft	EMS
Paxton, Pl.N.	S	Whitsunday	EM-, S
[protect*]	Ce	worsted* a.	EMS
punctual	ES-, M		

Most losses after /p, t, k, s/. See also Assimilation.

/k /

character	EMS	lukewarm	EMS
[cream]	Ce	next*	MS-, E
haddock*	EMS	Oxnam*, Pl.N.	S

/m /

bantam	M-, ES
from*	EMS

/n /

+ apprentice*	E	+ centre	E**
Cannongate (Edin.Street name)	E	Duddingston*, Pl.N.	E

/n / ctd.

Elphinstone*, Pl.N.	E	[pheasant*]	Ce
+ fainted	E**	+ plenty*	EMS
ignorant	E-, MS	+ Renton, Pers.N.	E**
kiln	EMS	Robinson, Pers.N.	EMS
Limekilns, Pl.N.	E	shelvement*	S
Livingstone, Pl.N.	E	Stevenson*	EMS
Martinmas*	EM-, S	[tenant]	Ce
[Milne, Pers.N.]	Ce	+ twenty*	E
pastern	EM-, S	+ wanted	EMS

A special case is loss of /n/ in front of [p] in the words marked +. In these cases [p] is not a free variant of /t/ (cf. p. 52).

/r /

drunken	EMS
---------	-----

/v /

dove*	EMS	lover*	S-, EM
forgive*	EMS	of*	EMS
give*	EMS	salve*	EMS
gave p.t.	S	serve	E-, MS
have*	EMS	shelvement	S
have not*	EMS	silver*	EM
leave	EMS	twelve*	EMS
love*	S-, EM		

/ ʃ /

clothes*	EMS	smooth a.	ES-, M
(turning) lathe	MS-, E	with*	EMS

/ z /

chemise*	EMS
----------	-----

/ ʒ /

jingle*	M-, ES
just*	EMS

/ f /

-self	EMS	twelfth*	EM-, S
sheriff	M-, ES		

/ θ /

froth	EMS	"mum-mouthed"*	E-, MS
mouth*	EMS	sixth	E-, M

/ s /

against	EMS	since (a while -)	EMS
corpse	S-, EM	spike	S-, EM
licorice-stick	EM	worse	EMS

/ l /

[alder*(-tree)]	Ce	all	EMS
-----------------	----	-----	-----

/ 1 / ctd.

/1 / ctd.

CL

already	EMS	moult*	(EM)S
[Balfour*, Pers.N.]	Ce	[poultry]	Wt. L, E EM
ball	EMS	pull	EMS
bulk*	S-, EM	pulpit	EMS
Calder, Pl.N.	E	salt	EMS
caldron*	S-, EM	[salter]	Ce
call	EMS	Salton, Pl.N.	E
Coldstream*, Pl.N.	S	salve*	S-, EM
colter*	M-, ES	scald	S-, EM
Craighall, Pl.N.	E	"scalp" (oysterbed)	M
Culross*, Pl.N.	E	[scalp (head)]	N, Ce
[Dalkeith*, Pl.N.]	Ce	shoulder*	EMS
Falkirk*, Pl.N.	E	small	EMS
fall	EMS	smolder*	MS-, E
fallen	EMS	solder*	(EM)S
false	MS-, E	soldier	EMS
fault	EMS	stall	EM-, S
Fountainhall*, Pl.N.	S	[Tolbooth]	Ce
full pred.	EMS	wall	EMS
[gall]	Ce	Walter*	EMS
[hall]	Ce	Weathergall*, Pl.N.	S
hold*	EMS	West Calder*, Pl.N.	EMS
"jolter"*	E	wool*	EMS
malt	MS-, E	woolly*	E
mouldy*	MS-, E		

/1/ ctd.

Most losses after stressed /u, ɔ /. For more examples in which the /l/ is replaced by /ʊ/ see DD 9.6.

/r /

cartridges* EM-, S

farther* EMS

Note also loss of /r/ in front of [ʔ] in some speakers (usually of the younger generation) in "quarter, sort of". In these cases [ʔ] is no free variant of /t/ (cf. p. 52).

/w /

Borthwick, Pl.N. E swim* EMS

causeway* EMS we* EMS

forward* EMS [woo v.] Ce

Polwarth, Pl.N. EMS wool EMS

St. Boswells*, Pl.N. S woolly* E

soirée* ES-, M Wooplaw*, Pl.N. S

sweep* EMS

/j/

cherio E

this year* EMS

[yearling] Ce

/h /

herb ES-, M hospital EMS

[heritor] Ce

c) Addition of Consonant¹⁾CA

Adam*	EM-, S	jɪd
[adder]	Ce	['æðərt]
ale*	EMS	jɪl
Alloa, Pl.N.	EMS	'aləwə
auction*	EMS	'ʌŋkʃən
auctioneer*	EMS	ʌŋkʃə'nɪr
[ballad]	Ce	['bælənt]
[bayonet]	Ce	['bɛɡnɪt]
[blue]	Ce	['bju]
[castle]	Ce	['kæstəl]
climb*	E-, MS	sklɪm
Earl*	EM-, S	jɪrl
Earlston*, Pl.N.	S	'jɪrlstɒn
earnest*(-money)	EM-, S	'jɪrnɪst
"earth"*	S	jɪrd
enough*	M-, ES	ɪn'jʌx - u
Eyemouth*, Pl.N.	M ₂	'heɪmuθ
[flew p.t.]	Wt. L	[flju]
gout n. (taste)	E	gut
if	MS-, E	ɡɪf
indict* v.	EM	ɪn'dɪkt
indictment n.	E	ɪn'dɪktmənt

ctd.

1) I give the examples in alphabetical order with a transcription, because there are only few examples so that grouping is not really worthwhile.

Consonant Addition ctd.CA

it	EMS	hit
January	M-, ES	'dʒenjuwerɪ - a
menace	ES-, M	'menəns
mine pron.	EMS	mɛɪnz
minute* n.	EM-, S	'minɪnt
[nook]	Ce	[nʊk]
oatmeal*	EM-, S	'jɛtmɪl
oats*	E-, MS	ʤɪts
owlet	EMS	'hulɪt
[pastern]	Ce	['pɛstjɜ]
piano*	E ₂	pɪ'jɑni
"pin"	S-, EM	prɪn
[rein]	Ce	[rɪnd]
[salmon]	Ce	['sɔmənt]
slate	S ₂	sklɛt
[spectacles]	Ce	['sprɛntɪkəlz]
speckle	EMS	sprɛkl̩
spigot	EM-, S	'sprɪɡɪt
strain* v.	EM-, S	strɪnd
[sword]	Ce	[sɔwɜd]
thistle	ES	θɪsl̩
tough*	EMS	tʃʌx - tʃʊx, ʌ - u
trickle	M-, ES	trɪŋkl̩
tug n., v.	EMS	tʃʌɡ, tʃʌɡ

ctd.

Consonant Addition ctd.CA

two*	EMS	two - e, ɔ - e
urchin	EM-, S	'hartʃɪn
us*	EMS	'hɪzjɪnz
[wɹɪght]	Ce	[wɹɪxt]
[write]	Wt. L	vɹɪt
[wrong]	Wt.em.Sc.	["wɛrəŋ"]
[wrote p.t.]	El.	["w'ɹɪt"]

d) Metathesismet.

As against SSE, M1 shows interchange of phonemes in the following items. The graphs representing the phonemes involved are underlined.

<u>apron</u>	EM-, S	" <u>f</u> ilm" n.	EM
<u>ask</u>	E-, MS	[<u>g</u> ra <u>s</u> s*]	Wt. L, E
[<u>b</u> oard]	Ce	<u>g</u> ri <u>d</u> dle n.	EMS
<u>b</u> ristle	MS-, E	<u>g</u> ri <u>s</u> t	EMS
<u>b</u> urned* p.p.	EMS	<u>g</u> ri <u>s</u> tle	EM-, S
<u>c</u> hris <u>t</u> ening	M-, ES	[<u>k</u> er <u>b</u> *]	Ce
[<u>c</u> is <u>t</u> ern]	Wt. L, E	mod <u>e</u> rn	EM-, S
con <u>t</u> ra <u>d</u> ict*	ES-, M	[<u>p</u> ro <u>t</u> ect]	Ce
<u>c</u> ry <u>s</u> tal	MS-, E	sk <u>i</u> rmish*	S-, EM
[<u>c</u> ur <u>d</u> s]	Wt.em.Sc.	<u>T</u> ra <u>n</u> ent, Pl.N.	M ₂
" <u>d</u> am <u>b</u> oard"*	ES	<u>T</u> ur <u>n</u> bull*, Pers.N.	S
el <u>a</u> st <u>i</u> c*	ES-, M		

/r/ is involved in most examples.

e) Assimilation¹⁾

There is one type of assimilation, optional regressive assimilation of voice, which I would like to mention specially, because it is fairly widely spread both in SSE and Ml. It is found within one word and between separate words and sometimes involves the loss of a consonant.

Voiceless plosives, fricatives and combinations of these are frequently, but not always, replaced by their voiced counterparts, if followed by a voiced consonant.

My collection includes the following cases:

a) /p, t, k/ > /b, d, g/

flop* down	blackberry
art department	Blackburn, Pl.N.
football*	blackguard*
let be!	blackmail
Whitburn, Pl.N.	Halkburn, Pl.N.
anecdote	jackdaw

b) /θ, ʃ, s/ > /ð, ʒ, z/

birthday	Winchburgh, Pl.N.
Linlithgow*, Pl.N.	(gocseberry ²⁾)
South Grey Street	

c) Combinations of voiceless plosives and fricatives >

1) I have only collected a few examples and am presenting them here without indicating local ties.

2) also RP.

> voiced counterparts with occasional loss of
plosive indicated by ().

almo <u>s</u> (t) done it	mu <u>s</u> (t) be
draugh <u>h</u> (t) beer	pass(ed) by
Es(k)bank, Pl.N.	phonet <u>ics</u> department
firs <u>t</u> (t) day	pit <u>ch</u> dark
firs <u>t</u> (t) bus	publi <u>sh</u> (ed) book or
las <u>s</u> (t) very long	publi <u>shed</u> book
las <u>s</u> (t) day	was(p)/bink (nest)
lef <u>t</u> (t) behind	works/depart <u>ment</u>
	wit <u>ch</u> /burning

E. Change in Position of Stressed Syllable¹⁾

active*	MS-, E	critic <u>i</u> ze*	S-, EM
administrat <u>i</u> ve	E	curator	S
advert <u>i</u> se(ment)*	E*	f <u>i</u> nesse*	EM
advert <u>i</u> ser	ES-, M	forfe <u>i</u> t n.	E
April*	E-, MS	grim <u>a</u> ce	EMS
bapt <u>i</u> sm*	E	har <u>a</u> ss	EMS
bapt <u>i</u> ze*	EMS	har <u>p</u> oon n.	M
bigot <u>t</u> ed	EM	h <u>o</u> tel	ES-, M
blasphem <u>e</u> ous*	E-, M	infam <u>e</u> ous	ES
bouq <u>u</u> et*	E	in <u>q</u> uiry*	ES-, M
"bure <u>a</u> u"* n.	EM	invent <u>o</u> ry	S-, EM
calib <u>r</u> e	S-, EM	jasmin <u>e</u> *	MS-, E
canon <u>i</u> ze	E	lament <u>a</u> ble	EM
chastis <u>e</u> ment	E**	lun <u>a</u> tic	S-, EM
chemis <u>e</u> *	EMS	massag <u>e</u> n.	E
<u>c</u> igar*	MS-, E	mattress	E-, E**MS
<u>c</u> igarette	S-, EM	mesmeriz <u>e</u> *	E-, M
"colle <u>a</u> gue" with v.	M-, E	mischie <u>f</u> *	ES-, M
committe <u>e</u> *	S-, EM	mischie <u>v</u> ous*	EMS
contrib <u>u</u> te	M-, E	moderniz <u>e</u>	E
cooperat <u>i</u> ve*	EMS	novel <u>s</u>	ES-, M
"crav <u>a</u> t"*	EMS	paralys <u>i</u> s*	EM

ctd.

1) The syllable which is stressed in the dialect is underlined.

peony*	S-, E	reconciled*	ES-, M
pineapple	E	refuse* n.	S
police	EMS	reservoir*	EMS
positive(ly)*	EM-, S	savoy	E-, MS
postcard v.	E**	scandalize	E-, M
poverize*	EMS	secretive	E
practise v.	E-, M	senile	E
preferably	E**	soirée*	EMS
pretext	S	surfeit n.	E
realize	E	survey n.	E
recognize	E	ventilation	E
recording n.	E	violin	EMS

Chapter IV

=====

Future Research

In addition to certain refinements in evaluating and relating results in my comparative tables and extending this method to other sections of the phonology and possibly other levels of analysis, I think that three further fields of research would prove rewarding.

1) Consideration of transient speech characteristics.

I assumed in the Introduction that there were permanent features in a speaker or group of speakers which depended on geographical and temporal affiliations: every dialect speaker speaks the dialect of a certain area and this dialect is representative of a certain time-span.

There are also speech characteristics which are more or less transient. Catford names three: register, style, and mode¹⁾, but the number could be increased. Research into these

1) Cf. Catford, op.cit. p. 84 - 85 on varieties: "Varieties which are more or less transient in that they change with changes in the immediate situation of utterance.
Register: variety related to the wider social role being played by the performer at the moment of utterance: e.g. 'scientific', 'religious', 'civil-service', etc.
Style: variety related to the number and nature of addressees and the performer's relation to them: e.g. 'formal', 'colloquial', 'intimate'.
Mode: variety related to the medium in which the performer is operating: e.g. 'spoken', 'written'."

problems would involve questions like: in which situations would speakers use dialect forms and would they speak and write it? When and where would they prefer SSE? To elicit this new interviewing techniques, a complex questionnaire, and appropriate evaluation procedures would have to be worked out. Research in this sector is still very much in its beginnings.

2) Partly overlapping with 1) is the correlation of social attitudes¹⁾ with speech varieties leading to questions like: which parts of the community are most likely to speak dialect, which social groups show the strongest trend towards standardisation, in what way do certain primary and secondary dialect characteristics correlate with social groups, is there a stable (i.e. stable at all levels) "mixed language" in the community? And so on. Sociology seems to be able to give a new impetus to dialectology, but, again, things are still in the initial stages²⁾. For my particular area investigation of secondary dialect features (especially interference phenomena) and voice dynamics³⁾ would prove fruitful.

1) Catford, op.cit. p. 84 - 85, would consider social affiliation to be a permanent variety:
Social Dialect: "variety related to the social class or status of the performer: e.g. 'U' and 'non-U'."

2) W. Labov, The Social Stratification of English in New York City, Washington D.C. 1966.

3) Cf. D. Abercrombie, Elements of General Phonetics, Edinburgh 1967, ch. 6.

3) I had originally planned to deal with some historical questions. I have done some research into the historical phonology and the external history of the region, but the matter is extremely complex and the material so extensive that I have preferred to leave it for some future publication.

Appendix I
=====

An Edinburgh specimen from A.J. Ellis
("On Early English Pronunciation", Part V, pp. 684 - 693, [E1])

In the following I give a transcription in IPA symbols of Ellis's "comparative specimen". This is presented in the original in E.'s own transcription "Palaeotype" which is somewhat difficult to reproduce and to interpret, but I have good reason to believe ¹⁾ that my rendering is fairly close to what E. wanted to convey.

The sample was supplied to E. by J.A.H. Murray who was a good phonetician (cf. his own work on the Dialect of the S. Counties of Scotland, London 1873). He considered the Edinburgh dialect to be "received Scotch". ²⁾ His informant was his sister-in-law, Mrs. Ch. Murray, a native of Edinburgh. ³⁾ Murray found the dialect difficult to transcribe. ⁴⁾ He comments amongst other things on the closeness of the vowels o and e and the changing quality of the vowel in blaa, twaa

1) My interpretations are based on E.'s various comments on "Palaeotype" in its different stages of development in EEP and on his comments and his vowel trigram given under "Speech-sounds" in the 9th ed. of the Encyclopaedia Britannica (1888), vol. 22, p. 385.

2) El. op. cit. p. 723.

3) El. op. cit. p. 65.

4) El. op. cit. p. 683.

(he is not sure about its transcription).

A specimen from Haddington is mentioned but is not reproduced in El., as it was almost the same as the Edinburgh sample. 5)

I do not reproduce three other rather short samples of Eastern Mid Lowland dialect (two from Melville Bell (Lothian and Fife) and one from the Rev. Wilson (for Chirnside)), but I have quoted distributional differences in my Index.

In my transcript:

"	over a vowel	=	centralised
.	under a vowel	=	raised
˘	under a vowel	=	lowered
ʷ	under a consonant	=	lip-rounding
ˑ	after a vowel	=	half-long
:	after a vowel	=	long
ˈ	over a vowel	=	position of stressed syllable

5) El. op. cit. p. 723.

0. ði wɛ: ɛt dʒɔk hɪz nɛ: du.t.
- 1 wi.l, ni.bər, ju: ɪ hɛ.m me bɛ:θ la:x ət mɔ nɪu:z. mɔ: kɛ:rz?
ðats nɛ:ðər hi:r nər ðɛ:r. [or: mɔ: maɪndʒz ðat? ðats ɔ smɔ:
mɛtər]
- 2 nɔ: mɒnɪ faʊk di:z bɪkɛ.z bɛr la:xt ət, wi ɔ: kɛn ðat, ʒɪ
kɛn. xwɛt fəd mak ðɪm? ɛts nɔ: vɛrɪ laɪklɪ ɛst?
- 3 hu:zɪvər, hi:rz ði fa.ks ɔ ðə kɛ:s, sɛ: dʒɪst ha.d ʒɪr gə.b,
mɪ mɑ.n, ɛn bi kwaiɪt tɪ ʌm dɪn. Mɪf.t ɛn lɛ.sɪ!
- 4 a:m [jɪ:r ɔ ha.rð ðɪm sɛ:ɪ, sʌm ɔ ðɛm ɛt gɛ:d θru: ðə hke:l
θɛ.ɪ ðərsɛɪlz fɛ ðə fɛ.rst ɔ:t, ɛɛ dɛ.d ɔ, [jɪ:r ɛnɪʌx. [or:
nɛ: du.t ɛbu.t ɪt.]
- 5 ɛt ðə ʒənɪst sʌn hɪzɛɪl, ɔ makɪ lə.dɪ ɔ nʌɪn ʒɪr ɔ:lð, kɛnt
ɪz fɛðərz vɛɪs ət ʒɛ.ns, fər ɔ:lɛt wɪz sɛ kwɪ:r ɪ skwɪ:kɪ, ɛn
ɔ wəd trʌst hɛ.m tɛ tɛl ðə try.θ ɒni dɛ:, ɛ: wɑ.d ɔ.
- 6 ɛn ðə ɔ:lð waɪf hɛrsɛɪl ɪl tɛl ɒni ɔ ju: ʒɛnz ɔts la:xɪ nu:,
ɛn tɛl ʒɪ rɛxt ɛf ty:, wɛθú.t makɪ ɔdɪ:, ʒɛn ʒɪl ɒnɪ aks ɛr,
ɛ:, wəl ʒɪ nɔ:?
- 7 ɛt ɒni rɛ.t, ʒə tɛlt mɪ:, xwɛn ɔ: spɪ:rd ət ɛr twɔ: xri:
tʌɪmz ʌʊr, ʒə dɛd, ɛn ʒɪ: ʒudnɛ bi rə.ɪ ɒn sɛkɪ ɔ pɛɪnt ɛz
ðat, di ɪ nɔ: θɛ.ɪ?
- 8 wi.l, ɛz ɔ: sɛ.θ, ʒɪ: wəd tɛl ʒɪ, hu:, xwɑ.n ɛn xwɛ:r ʒɪ
fɑ.n ði drʌkɪ bry.t ʒə kɔ:z ɛr mɑ.n.
- 9 ʒɪ tu.k ɛr ɛ:θ ɛt ʒə sɔ: ɛm wɪ ɛr ɛ:n i.n, stri.kɛt u.t ɪr
hɛ:l lɛnθ ɒn ðə grʌn, ɪn ɪz ʒɪd sʌndɛz bɛst dʒɪst fɛrnɛnt ðə
dɔ:r ɔ ðə hu.s du.n ðə klo.s ʒɔ.ndər ət ðə kɔrnər.
- 10 ɛn hi wɪz mʌmpɪn ɔwɑ:, ʒə dɪklɛ:rz, fər ɔ: ðə wɜrld laɪk ɔ

nõ: wi.l bern or a bẽ.t lasæk 1 òi pẽt.

11 en òat wiz dzy.st ez hẽr ñ er gyd do.xter ka.m òru: òe ba.k
je:rd fe hẽ.ññ u.t òi kle:z, ẽt wiz wa.ññ de: ji kẽn,

12 en òi ketyl wiz bẽilñ far ti: en ẽt wiz a bro: ñ brẽxt
sẽ.mer e.ftẽrnyn, en ne: farñ gen òin la.st òarzde.

13 en di 1 kẽn? a hard ne me:r òin òat e òi bẽznas tl òi de:,
ez jy:r ez òe ko: mi: dzyok jẽperd, en a dẽne wa.nt ti ne:òer,
sẽ òe:r!

14 wi.l am go:n he:m ti m1 sãper. gyd nẽxt, en dẽ.ne bi in sẽ.k
a har1 ti kro: se kru.s aur a bod1 ađen, Mẽn hi:z spi.kñ abú.t
òẽ.s, òa.t, or òi aðer òẽ.ñ.

15 hi:z a sẽ.li gawk 1t blẽðerz wiθú.t sẽns. en òa.ts 3: av ti
sẽ:, sã gyd ba:!

The English version of Ellis's comparative specimen reads as follows (op.cit. p. 7*):

(0.) Why John Has No Doubts.

(1.) Well, neighbour, you and he may both laugh at this news of mine. Who cares? That is neither here nor there.

(2.) Few men die because they are laughed at, we know, don't we? What should make them? It is not very likely, is it?

(3.) Howsoever these are the facts of the case, so just hold your noise, friend, and be quiet till I have done. Hearken!

(4.) I am certain I heard them say - some of those folks who went through the whole thing from the first themselves, - that did I, safe enough, -

(5.) that the youngest son himself, a great boy of nine, knew his father's voice at once, though it was so queer and squeaking, and I would trust him to speak the truth any day, aye, I would.

(6.) And the old woman herself will tell any of you that laugh now, and tell you straight off, too, without much bother, if you will only ask her, oh! won't she? -

(7.) leastways she told it me when I asked her, two or three times over, did she, and she ought not to be wrong on such a point as this, what do you think?

(8.) Well as I was saying, she would tell you, how, where and when she found the drunken beast that she calls her husband.

(9.) She swore she saw him with her own eyes, lying stretched at full length, on the ground, in his good Sunday coat, close by the door of the house, down at the corner of yon lane.

(10.) He was whining away, says she, for all the world like a sick child, or a little girl in a fret.

ctd.

(11.) And that happened, as she and her daughter-in-law came through the back yard from hanging out the wet clothes to dry on a washing day,

(12.) while the kettle was boiling for tea, one fine bright summer afternoon, only a week ago come next Thursday.

(13.) And, do you know?, I never learned any more than this of that business up to to-day, as sure as my name is John Shepherd, and I don't want to either, there now!

(14.) And so I am going home to sup. Good night, and don't be so quick to crow over a body again, when he talks of this that or t'other.

(15.) It is a weak fool that prates without reason. And that is my last word. Good b'ye.

Compared with the Wenker sentences the specimen is an improvement, although it makes strange reading.

Appendix II
=====

J. Wright, The English dialect grammar, Oxford 1905 [Wt.]

Wright's information was collected by post¹⁾. Like El., whom he uses throughout, Wt. attempts to transcribe as impressionistically as possible²⁾. Not all of his informants were able to use the transcription provided and Wt. has to interpret their spellings and check them against other available information (mostly El.)³⁾. This procedure has obvious disadvantages, but the material for Edinburgh and Lothian is quite reliable. Four of Wright's informants to whom he pays special tribute in the Preface come from our area: W.M. Anderson, Esq. (Lth.); D. MacRitchie, Esq. (Edb. and mLth.) [a then well-known folklorist]; J.R. pairman, Esq. (Edb.); W.B. Wilson, Esq. (Edb.). The number of special mentions is the highest for any of Wt.'s districts and this may explain the number of alternative forms in the Index for our district and also the accuracy of the material. It is possible that Murray provided Wright with more information

1) Cf. E.M. Wright, The Life of Joseph Wright, London 1932, vol. II, pp. 423 ff.

2) He uses a transcription system based on Sweet's Primer of Phonetics (cf. Wt. p. 12). Wt. does not quite reach El.'s refinement in phonetic detail. He realises that his informants could not manage an over-complicated transcription.

3) Cf. Wt. Preface p. IX.

about Edinburgh. He is mentioned in the list of informants for eastern Scots.

I attempted to trace Wright's MS material at Oxford, but did not succeed in locating it (if it still exists at all). ¹⁾

The following notes on transcription may be helpful:

Speitel

Wright

/i/

"ī, i" appear to be used at random ²⁾

"ī" (high-front-narrow-long) like German Biene

"i" (high-front-narrow-short) like French si

/I/

"i" or "ə" used at random ³⁾

"i" (high-front-wide) like lit. English bit, sit, it

"ə" (varies between mid-mixed-wide and mid-mixed-narrow)

But cf. list 1

ctd.

-
- 1) I wish to thank Mr. R.W. Burchfield of Oxford University Press for his kind help.
 - 2) "In Sc. dialects long narrow vowels remain narrow when shortened, thus "ē, ī" become "é, i"." Wt. § 3, p. 12.
 - 3) Wt. § 68. "I have found it impossible to give an exact analysis of the sound. It seems to be a lowered form of i, which I sometimes appreciate as a kind of e sound and at other times as a kind of mixed vowel ə. My best helpers, several of whom possess a good knowledge of phonetics, are inconsistent in their representation of the sound in question. Sometimes they write it i and at other times e, ə, and occasionally even é, ē. Dr. Ellis also experienced similar difficulties: see E.E. Pronunciation, V, pp. 682, 710-11, 756, 767-8. According to Dr. Murray, Dial. of s. Counties of Sc., pp. 107-8, the normal development is e (mid-front-wide) in the south of Sc., in some parts of Sc. he believes it to be like Welsh u in un (high-mixed-narrow) and the e in German Gabe (mid-mixed-narrow); and ə (mid-back-narrow) towards the west and centre of Sc."

SpeitelWright

/e /	" ē "	(mid-front-narrow) like German <u>See</u> But cf. list 2
/ɛ /	" e "	(mid-front-wide) like lit. English <u>men</u> , <u>bet</u> , <u>net</u> But cf. list 2
/a /		See list 3
/ʌ /	" ɒ "	(not described in "Phonology")
/ɔ /	" ȯ "	(low-back-narrow-round), like lit. English <u>fall</u> , <u>law</u> , <u>saw</u> Cf. list 3
/o /	" ɔ "	(mid-back-narrow-round) Cf. list 4
/u /	" ū "	(high-back-narrow-round)
/ɛɪ, ae/	" ai "	No variations given (!). Did Wright conflate the two or did his informants not distinguish?
/oɪ /	" oi "	
/ʌu /	" au "	
/ɜ /	" ȯ "	(mid-mixed-narrow) or (low-mixed-narrow) like lit. English <u>bird</u> , <u>curd</u> , <u>herd</u> .

Distributional differences between my material and Wt. have been included in the Index.

List 1Unrounding

Both El. and Wt. report rounded front vowels in a number of words. I have put the information together in the following list.

In present-day M1 these vowels are represented by /ɪ/ or /e/. The Index in which all this information is included, shows where this is not the case. This process of unrounding, which must have taken place in the last 100 years, is the most marked sound-change that I have noted.

I have included information from Wt. for E (Edinburgh) and em.Sc. (east-mid-Scots) and L (Lothian), but have left out "Wt." in the comparative table. Forms from El. for Edinburgh are marked El. (El. C = Chirnside, El. F = Fife).

- " ʊ " varies between high-front-wide-round like German Mütter and high-front-narrow-round like French pur
 " ʊ̄ " (high-front-narrow-round) like German grün
 " œ " (mid-front-narrow-round) like German schön.

	ʊ	ʊ̄	œ
afternoon	El.		
blew			E
blood		E	
book		L, E	
boot	El.	L, E	
brood	L, E		
bruise		L	
brute		El.	
bury	El.		
choose			L
cool		L	
could	El. C		

ctd.

	ti	ti	oe
do			em.Sc.
done	El. em.Sc.		
flood		ym.Sc.	
flute		L, E	
fool		L, E	
ford		L, E	
fruit		em.Sc.	
good	El. C em.Sc.		L, E
goose	L, E		
hood	L, E		
hook	L, E		
just	El. em.Sc.		
loom	E		
moon		em.Sc.	
moor		L, E	
noon	E	L	
poor		El. C em.Sc.	
prove	L, E		
shoot	E	L	
shovel(ful)	L, E		
smooth		L	
soon		L, E	
spoon	L, E		

ctd.

	ū	ū	œ
stood	L, E		
sugar	L		
sure		El. E, C em.Sc.	
roof		L, E	
root		L, E	
school	em.Sc.	em.Sc.	
too		em.Sc.	
took	L		
tool		L	
tooth		L, E	
truth	em.Sc.	El. E, C L, E	

- Note:**
1. ū includes El. long and half-long high rounded front vowel.
 2. Cases where Ml has /ɪ, e/ but Wt. and El. show SSE /u/ have not been noted.
 3. do: El. E, F "di" (short [i])
El. L "dæ" (long central vowel)
Wt. L, E "de"
 - done: Wt. L, E "i"
 - foot: appears with "ə" = /ɪ/ for Wt. E and "ɒ" = /ʌ/ for Wt. L
 - good: Wt. L, E, em.Sc. also "gjūd"
 - hook: Wt. L, E "hjūk"
 - poor: Wt. em.Sc. "pēr"
 - prove: El. L "ii" (long [i])
 - school: Wt. em.Sc. "skoel"
 - shovel: Wt. L, E "ʃül"
 - soon: Wt. L, E also "ʃün"
 - sure: Wt. em.Sc. "ʃēr"

List 2

I have indicated ^{above} below (p.44) that there is a good deal of fluctuation between /e/ and /ɛ/ which led me to subsume them in one category in my comparison of stressed vowels. The following list shows a similar kind of uncertainty in the quality and length of these vowels in Wt. E (marked in the book either Edb. or em.Sc., Lth. of which Edb. is part).

" ē "	mid-front-narrow like German <u>See</u>
" ê "	mid-front-narrow like French <u>été</u>
" e "	mid-front-wide like lit. English <u>men</u> , <u>bet</u> , <u>net</u>
" æ "	low-front-narrow like French <u>père</u> .

"In Sc. dialects long narrow vowels remain narrow when shortened, thus "ē, ī" become "ê, î". Wt. § 3, p.12.

" ē " in: arm, beat inf., beard, blame, branch, card, care, cart, clergy, clerk, cloth, death, earnest, fair, farm, flea, floor, garden, go, hair, hare, harm, harvest, heal, heathen, hedge, herring, iron, learn, load, meal, moan, more, pail, pair, part, rope, safe, sail, sole, season, share, sore, stairs, sure, tale, tail, them, threat, toad, value.

" ê " in: bait, bake, bane, bare, bear n., blade, blame, carry, father, fern, hoarse, neither, nettle, race.

" e " in: age, adze, aneath, bald, beat pr., bed, bench, black, bless, brass, cradle, dainty, dinner, end, feather, game, gate, has, hasp, hem, herb, hot, lady, mason, one, path, red, six.

ctd.

"æ" in: dairy, wear.

The same fluctuation exists between additional Wt. material for em.Sc. and L.

List 3

SSE /a/ is represented by Wt. for E (or em.Sc., L of which Edb. is part) by

"ā" (mid-back-wide) like English father, dark, alms

"a" (mid-back-wide) like German Mann

"ä" (low-back-wide) long form of

"Common in the dialects of s.Sc. and n.Ir. English people often mistake it for " o ." (§ 6, p. 14)

"â" (low-back-wide) like French pas, pâte

"English people often mistake it for "o"." (§ 6, p.14)

"ø" (low-back-narrow-round) English fall, law, saw.

Wt. shows here the kind of fluctuation described below (p. 46). It is interesting to note that he abandons "ä" after castle and " ä " after fat.

"ā" in: adder, away, carrot, cat, dance, draught, fasten, gander, hard, lamb, land, marrow, pan, rank, sang, soft, strong, tongs, wordy, when, world, wrest.

"a" in: back, bade.

"ä" in: alum, among, answer, apron, ash, ask, ass, ant, baulk, brand, castle.

ctd.

" [˘] " in: back bad, bade, bank, barley, bask, bath, bladder,
draw, fat.

" [̄] " in: ancient, answer, aunt, chance, dark, daughter,
false, halter, hammer, hand, lad, mow, naught,
small, sow v., star, twelve, wasp, watch, waster,
well n., whelp, who.

Wt. L and Wt. em.Sc. show the same fluctuation.

List 4

In general my no. 6 /o/ corresponds to Wt. E " [̄]o ". But he
gives a few cases with " ɔ " low-back-wide-round like lit.

English dog:

afloat, any, borrow, bother, brought, clock, clot, coat,
corner, cot, follow, frost, holiday, rod, yonder.

There are more examples of this kind, if Wt. em.Sc. and Wt.
L are considered.

Appendix III =====

Later Works on Edinburgh.

Before I go on to discuss Ce, I should like to mention two other dialectologists who have worked in my area.

Paul Hartig, *Die Edinburgher Dialektgruppe*, Leipzig 1928, is entirely based on gramophone records made during the first World war. I can refer the reader to Prof. Orton's scathing review in *Englische Studien* 1930 - 1 (65), pp. 262 ff.

William Grant, *Introduction to the National Dictionary of Scotland*, Edinburgh 1931 ff., enumerates under east-mid Scots b) a number of pronunciations of common core words peculiar to this area.¹⁾ This list should only be considered as a rough indication of differences between dialect continua. My findings do not always support it.

The best work written on the Lothian and Fife area to date is Sir James Wilson's *"The Dialects of Central Scotland"*, London 1926 [Ce]. Especially his treatment of the morphology of the dialects will probably not be surpassed, as it seems very difficult to reconstruct as consistent and stable a set of systems as described in Ce. I have made no attempt to improve on this

1) Grant, paras. 84 - 92.

part of his description.

In contrast to Ellis and Wright, who are not even mentioned, Wilson is not interested in historical phonology. His main interest lies in collecting and preserving the "actual pronunciation of the words by old speakers of broad Scotch who have spoken it all their lives in their everyday conversation with their fellows".¹⁾ He distinguishes between Standard English and dialect and tells the collector to keep the dialect "pure".²⁾ He warns against asking questions in English to elicit Scotch.³⁾ I have discussed the relevance of all of these points for my particular study in the Introduction.

There are some remarks in Wilson which show that he held similar views to mine in certain respects:

1) Dialect as maximal deviation from an accent of Standard English: "... select that which is most unlike standard English, provided that it is frequently repeated, as probably representing the original speech of the people, the true dialect of the district."⁴⁾ Because of his "phonemic principle" Wilson does not pay much attention to phonetic detail. He has been blamed by W.A. Craigie for not distinguishing in his books between /e/ in "sale, tale, stane, late" and /ɛ/ in "sail, tail, stain, wait".

1) Ce p. 222 LSc p.12

2) Ce p. 222 LSc p. 12

3) LSc p. 12

4) LSc p. 10

I am not sure, whether such a consistent distinction was ever made in Midlothian, but Wilson confessed that he could not hear the difference, where it existed. 1)

2) Wilson's books are all more or less phonemic. In his first book (LSc p. 12) he states among his principles of transcription: "Adopt some definite system of spelling sounds, either the one I have adopted or some other, but having adopted it, stick to it, and always spell the same sound the same way".

3) In his introductory pages on pronunciation in Ce he gives a comparison of the pronunciation of dialects with that of "Standard English". In the section on stressed vowels e.g. he lists under an English vowel (phoneme) the various corresponding dialect vowels.

Wilson's information for the Lothians comes from informants in Penicuik, Edinburgh, Newhaven, East Linton and Pathhead. 2) He throws this information together and does not differentiate between these vernaculars in his description. This is a drawback. But it is an improvement on Wright. 3)

I have found Ce very useful as a quarry of information especially in the later stages of my work. 4) I have listed

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- 1) W.A. Craigie, Some Anomalies of Spelling. SPE Tract 59 fn.1,
2) Ce p. 10. All these Pl.N. appear on my map. p. 310
3) Wilson does not seem to have used either Ellis or Wright.
4) Although Wilson has been criticised as being unscientific he has been constantly used in the LSS, and his results are included in the SND, cf. D. Murison, Studies in Scots since 1918, Anglia 69 (1950).

distributional differences in his work, which differ from mine, in my Index. His transcription using Roman letters is easy to understand and handle. I have therefore not given a comparative chart. A few additional remarks may be of use to the reader:

Wilson does not indicate stress.

He transcribes unstressed final vowels in words like barrow, borrow, elbow etc. - china, borough etc. by "ay" /e/, where I generally use /ɪ/.

His remarks on areal differences, e.g. between Lothian and Fife or the area around Edinburgh are too sweeping to be correct.

Appendix IV
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(quotation referring to fn.²), p. 10)

The terms "primäre" and "sekundäre Merkmale" were first used by V. Schirmunski, Sprachgeschichte und Siedlungsmundarten, GRM 1930 (18), p. 118. The following quotation from G. Hard, Zur Mundartgeographie, Düsseldorf 1966, pp. 23 - 4, may help to elucidate the two terms:

"Nachdem man zugestanden hat, dass alle Uebergänge vorhanden sein mögen, darf man die beiden idealtypischen Pole etwa so umschreiben: Zunächst handelt es sich um den Grad der artikulatorischen Verschiedenheit. Ein geschlossenes e liegt näher am offenen i als ein au oder ao am o: jenes e statt i ist sekundäres, dieses au statt o primäres Merkmal des Schwäbischen. Viel wichtiger aber scheinen mir sprachpsychologische Kriterien zu sein: Primäre Merkmale sind solche, die dem Mundartsprecher selbst als Abweichungen von den Nachbarmundarten und der schriftsprachlichen Norm bewusst sind oder doch wenigstens bei entsprechenden Zusammenstößen leicht ins Bewusstsein treten. Er kontrolliert die Artikulation dieser Laute i.a. soweit, dass er sie nach Wunsch ersetzen kann. Es sind Merkmale, die der Vertreter der Nachbarmundart, der hochsprachlichen Norm oder einer der Norm angenäherten Sprache als Charakteristika der betreffenden Mundart kennt und zu beschreiben vermag; an diese primären Merkmale vor allem heftet sich deshalb der Sprachspott. Sekundäre Merkmale sind solche, die der Sprecher nicht spontan als Abweichungen von der

hochsprachlichen Norm und Nachbarmundart bemerkt, deren Erfassen ihm vielfach selbst dann schwerfällt, wenn er darauf aufmerksam gemacht wird. Er hat sie weit weniger, zuweilen gar nicht in der Gewalt; er muss ihren eventuellen Ersatz mühsam einüben und schüttelt sie (den "Akzent", darunter die sogenannten konstitutiven Faktoren) manchmal lebenslang nicht ab.... Wenn die fruchtbare Faustregel nun heisst, dass primäre Merkmale die Tendenz haben, in den mittleren Sprachschichten, den regionalen Ausgleichssprachen aufgegeben zu werden, die sekundären aber zurückbleiben (und umgekehrt die Adoption einer fremden Mundart sich meist nur auf die primären Merkmale erstreckt), so darf man doch nicht aus dem Auge verlieren, dass diese "Umgangssprachen" neben einer unteren Grenze fast immer auch eine obere haben, die jeweils beide studiert werden müssen: Man darf nicht zu bäurisch, aber auch nicht "zu fein" sprechen."

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- 1) In addition to the above literary sources the poems of the 18th century Edinburgh poet Robert Fergusson were closely examined especially for rhymes. I hope to publish the results separately.
On Fergusson's language cf. A. Mackie, Fergusson's Language: Braid Scots Then and Now, in S. Goodsir Smith ed., Robert Fergusson, Edinburgh 1952, pp. 123 ff. (This contains also some general remarks about the dialect of Edinburgh.)
I also took notes of Scots forms for testing purposes scattered in the works of R.L. Stevenson, W. Scott and S. Ferrier.
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Abbreviations¹⁾ =====

a.	adjective
adv.	adverb
assim.	assimilation
Bach	A. Bach, Deutsche Mundartforschung, 2nd ed., Heidelberg 1950
CA	Addition of Consonant
Ce	J. Wilson, The Dialects of Central Scotland, London 1926
Ce N	Newhaven forms in Ce
ChI	Changed Item(s) (see p. 100)
CI	Comparative Item(s) (cf. p. 97)
CL	Loss of Consonant
col.	column(s)
CS	Substitution of Consonant
CT	Comparative Table(s) (see p. 97)
D	Dialect
DD	Distributional Differences
E	Informant E (Edinburgh) (similarly E*, E ₂ , see vol. I, pp. 32 ff.)
Edin.	Edinburgh
El.	A.J. Ellis, On Early English Pronunciation, Part V, London 1889
El. C	Chirnside forms in El.
El. E	Edinburgh forms in El.
El. F	Fife forms in El.
F.N.	Field Name
Gloss.	Glossary (vol. II)
H	LSS phonological questionnaire for Howgate
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet
lit.	literary
LSc	J. Wilson, Lowland Scotch, London 1915

1) including the literal code (cf. vol. II, pp. 4 - 5).
 The numerical code follows separately at the end.

LSS	Linguistic Survey of Scotland
M	Informant M (Musselburgh) (similarly M ₂ , see vol. I, pp. 32 ff.)
met.	metathesis
M1	1) all dialect forms found in the county of Midlothian 2) if used after a locality (e.g. E M1): dialect as opposed to SSE
N	LSS phonological questionnaire for Newhaven
n.	noun
n.k.	not known
n.u.	not used
num.	numeral
Pers.N.	Personal Name
Pl.N.	Place Name
poet.	poetical
p.p.	past participle
pron.	pronoun
p.t.	past tense
R.N.	River Name
RP	Received Pronunciation
S	Informant S (Stow) (similarly S ₂ , see vol. I, pp. 32 ff.)
slg.	slang
SND	Scottish National Dictionary
SSE	Scottish Standard English
str.	change in position of tonic syllable
TPS	Transactions of the Philological Society
UI	Unchanged Item(s) (see p. 61)
(u)S	(non-tonic) Syllable
(u)SA	Addition of (u)S
(u)SL	Loss of (u)S
uV	non-tonic Vowel (if followed by a code with two digits: change in non-tonic Vowel)
uVA	Addition of uV
uVj	M1 equivalents of SSE non-tonic syllables containing /j/

uVL	Loss of uV
v.	verb
Wt.	J. Wright, The English Dialect Grammar, Oxford 1905
Wt. E	Edinburgh forms in Wt.
Wt. em.Sc.	east-mid-Scots forms in Wt.
Wt. L	Lothian forms in Wt.
ZMF	Zeitschrift für Mundartforschung

Numerical code

The last digit in a code (unless preceded by uV) refers to a post-tonic consonant, the other one or two digits to vowels and diphthongs (cf. vol. I, chapter II and pp. 96 ff.; vol. II, pp. 1 ff.).

Post-tonic consonants

1 b	6 k	11 ð	16 s
2 d	7 m	12 z	17 ʃ
3 g	8 n	13 ʒ	18 l
4 p	9 ŋ	14 f	19 r
5 t	10 v	15 θ	20 open syllable

Vowels and Diphthongs

1 i	5 ʌ	9 ʌu
** 2 ɪ	6 o	10 oɪ
3 e, ε	7 u	11 ɜ
4 a, ɔ	8 εɪ, ae	12 ə

** i is used where the entry was added in ink.